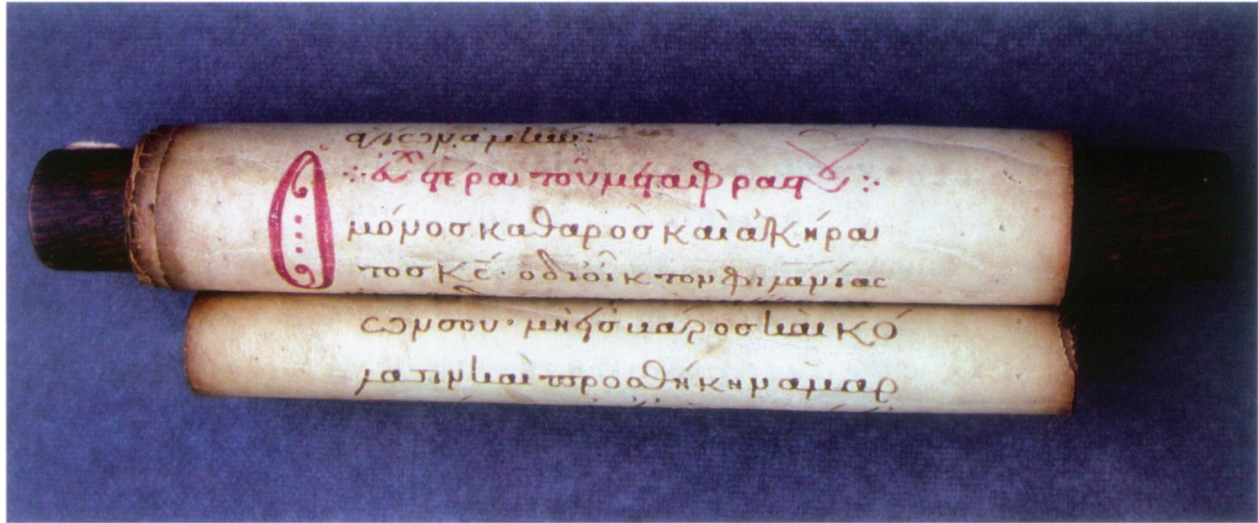


The Endicott Scroll and Its Place in the History of Private Communion Prayers

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History and Date of the Manuscript

The Endicott Scroll (Rotulus Dedhamiensis) was purchased around 1895 by Ms. J. Alice Maxwell of Rockville, Connecticut, as a “grand tour” souvenir. Although the precise place of purchase remains unknown, it must have been either Egypt or Palestine, both of which countries she and her companions visited. After the death of Ms. Maxwell, the present owner, Bradford M. Endicott of Dedham, Massachusetts, found the scroll in his aunt’s home around 1942 in, as he reported, “a heap on the floor, ready to be thrown out.” He was curious about the artifact and felt attracted to it, but it was not until around 1994 that he brought the scroll to the (then) Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, thinking that the script of the scroll might be Coptic. The scroll was shown to one of the authors, who recognized it as Greek, photographed it, and transcribed its content. She tentatively dated the writing to the twelfth century, but not having experience with this kind of scroll she consulted experts in the field of paleography. Prof. Ihor Ševčenko at Harvard confirmed a twelfth-century date, with which Prof. John Duffy, also of Harvard, concurred. Dr. Nigel Wilson at Oxford warned against archaizing features in the manuscript and left open the possibility of a later date. Dr. Agamemnon Tselikas, head of the Historical and Paleographical Archive of the Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, tended toward a thirteenth-century date.

Fig. 1 Endicott Scroll, showing lines 34–37, 24–25 (all photos by authors)

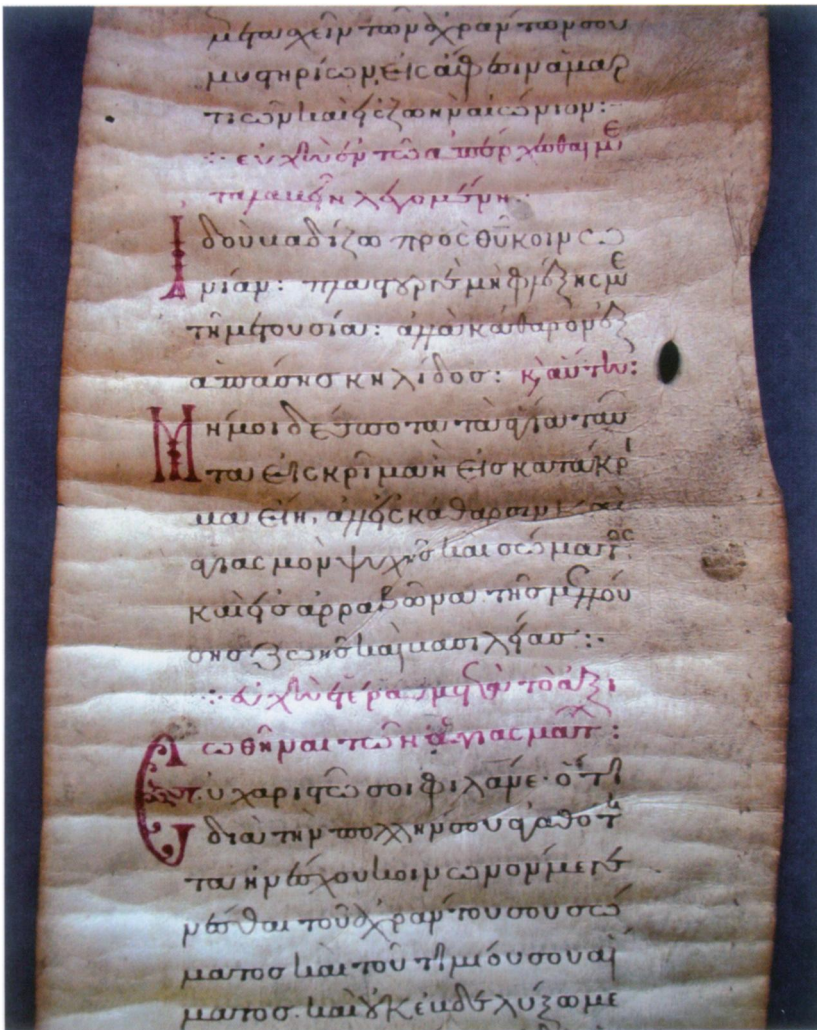


Fig. 2 Endicott Scroll, lines 135–58

Description of the Endicott Scroll and Principles of Editing

The manuscript is a liturgical scroll containing twelve prayers. Only the conclusion of the first prayer and the beginning of the last are preserved, but the intervening ten are complete. Based on the reconstruction of prayer 12 (see below, pp. 154–155) at least twenty lines are missing, and certainly more if there were originally other prayers. The prayers that remain may be divided into two groups: communion prayers (1–10) and prayers in time of temptation (11–12).

The scroll is vellum with text on both sides (*opisthograph*), written in a minuscule script. One end of the scroll is missing (fragmenting the first and last prayers), and the total surviving length is 140 cm, made up of three pieces of vellum, 52, 55, and 33 cm long. The length of the wooden dowel around which it is wound is 18.5 cm (fig. 1). The width of the parchment is 13.7–14.0 cm; at the end of a sheet it can narrow down even to 12.5 cm. The margins are about 3 cm at each side, which makes the width of the writing between 7.7 and 7.8 cm.

Since this *editio princeps* of the Greek text is meant primarily for those interested in liturgical studies and less for students of paleography, we decided to present a text edited according to modern conventions. We did, however, preserve the original lines of the manuscript, adding hyphens at the end of the lines when words were divided. The accentuation in the manuscript was mostly accurate, so we took it over except when a grave accent was retained before punctuation. We also removed marks of diaeresis, if they occurred in unusual positions, as, for example, in lines 222–23: συγγνώμην, or lines 242–43: βεβυθισμένω. The abbreviations are spelled out, letters in superscript are set on the baseline, and iota subscripts are added. The abbreviations conform to Byzantine conventions and occur primarily in the *nomina sacra*; in conjunctions, such as καί; in words used repetitively, such as εὐχή; and at the endings of words, such as nouns or names ending in -ος, -ων, -ου, -ας, or -α.

In the edited text asterisks mark where the vellum breaks off and single dotted lines indicate where the pieces of vellum are glued together (fig. 3). The double line (between lines 163 and 164) marks the vellum that is closest to the dowel. At that point the scroll has to be turned over to continue the reading. This happens in the middle of a sentence, and, in fact, in the middle of a word.

In the manuscript red ink is used for the headings of the prayers and the ornate capital letters at the first word of the prayers (figs. 2 and 3). We use boldface for the red letters and regular for the rest. We took over some of the manuscript's punctuation but put periods instead of colons at the end of sections. We also capitalized the beginning of the headings and the personal names, which the manuscript does not do.



Fig. 3 Endicott Scroll, lines 180–203, with a joint between two sections of vellum

Sigla

- × illegible letter
 ***** vellum broken off
 new piece of vellum
 ==== end of vellum closest to dowel

Text and Translation of the Endicott Scroll

- 1 ἂ...ἀνεξάλειπτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποιή-
 σον· καὶ γενοῦ μοι βοηθὸς καὶ
 ἀντιλήπτωρ καταξιῶν με
 καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου παρα-
 5 στάσεως· εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβεΐ-
 αῖς τῆς παναχράντου σου
 μητρὸς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων
 τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρε-
 στησάντων. ἀμήν.
 10 **Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν**
Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ:
 Δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς
 ἡμῶν· ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξου-
 σίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας
 15 ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόνητος, πά-
 ριδέ μου πάντα τὰ ἐν γνῶ-
 σει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ πλημμελήματα·
 τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια·
 τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ κατὰ
 20 διάνοιαν· καὶ ἀκατακρί-
 τως καταξίωσόν με μετα-
 λαβεῖν τῶν θείων καὶ ἀχράν-
 των καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρί-
 ων σου· μὴ εἰς βάρος καὶ κό-
 25 λασιν καὶ προσθήκην ἁμαρ-
 τημάτων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἁγιασμόν· εἰς
 φωτισμόν· εἰς στηριγμόν· εἰς
 ἀρραβῶνα ζωῆς αἰωνίου·
 εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς
 30 ἐναντίου. καὶ εἰς ἐξάλειψιν
 τῶν πολλῶν μου ἀνομιμάτων.

a καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν σου ἀνεξάλειπτον
 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσον.... *Ωρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*
 (Athens, 1995), 512–13, in a prayer attributed
 to Chrysostom (see p. 156, below).

- do not let [your sanctification] be washed away from me, Prayer 1
 and become my helper and
 defender, deeming me worthy even to
 stand at your right side.
 Through the prayers and intercessions
 of your most pure
 mother and all your saints,
 who are dear to you forever,
 amen.
Another prayer of our holy father
John of Damascus: Prayer 2
 Master, Lord Jesus Christ, our God,
 you alone have the power
 to forgive sins:
 since you are good and love humans,
 forgive me all my transgressions,
 committed knowingly and unknowingly,
 involuntarily and voluntarily,
 in deed, word, and
 thought, and without condemning me
 deem me worthy
 to partake of your divine, pure, and
 immortal mysteries,
 not as a burden,
 punishment, and increase of sins
 but as sanctification,
 illumination, support,
 a token of eternal life,
 a shield against every
 opposing power and an expiation
 of my many transgressions.

πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου
 σου μητρός· καὶ πάντων σου τῶν
 ἁγίων, ἀμήν.
 35 **Εὐχή ἐτέρα τοῦ Μεταφραστοῦ:**
 Ὁ μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρα-
 τος κύριος· ὁ δι' οἶκτον φιλανθρωπίας
 ἀνεκδιήγητον τὸ ἡμέτερον
 προσλαβόμενος φύραμα
 40 ἐκ τῶν ἁγνῶν καὶ παρθενικῶν
 αἱμάτων τῆς ὑπερφυῶς κυ-
 ησάσης σε πνεύματος θείου ἐπέλεύ-
 σει καὶ εὐδοκία πατρὸς αἰδίου·
 Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία καὶ δύναμις
 45 καὶ εἰρήνη· ὁ τῷ προσλήμ-
 ματί σου τὰ ζωοποιὰ καὶ
 σωτήρια πάθη καταδεξάμενος
 τὸν σταυρόν, τοὺς ἥλους, τὴν λόγχην,
 τὸν θάνατον, νέκρωσόν μου;
 50 τὰ ψυχοφθόρα πάθη τοῦ σώ-
 ματος· ὁ τῇ ταφῇ σου τὰ τοῦ
 ἄδου σκυλεύσας βασιλεια,
 θάψον μου διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λο-
 γισμῶν τὰ πονηρὰ διαβού-
 55 λια· καὶ τὰ τῆς πονηρίας
 πνεύματα διασκεδάσον·
 ὁ τῇ τριημέρῳ ἀναστάσει σου
 τὸν πεπτωκότα ἀναστήσας
 προπάτορα, ἀνάστησόν με
 60 τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ κατολισθήσαν-
 τα· τρόπους μοι μετανοίας
 ὑποτιθέμενος· ὁ τῇ ἐνδόξῳ
 σου ἀναλήψει τῆς σαρκὸς θε-
 ώσας τὸ πρόσλημμα· καὶ

 65 τοῦτο τῇ δεξιᾷ καθέδρᾳ
 τιμήσας, ἀξίωσόν με διὰ
 τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σου μετα-
 λήψεως τῆς δεξιᾶς μερίδος
 τῶν σωζομένων· ὁ τῇ ἐπιδη-
 70 μίᾳ τοῦ παρακλήτου σου
 πνεύματος· σκεύη τίμια τοὺς ἱερούς
 σου μαθητὰς ἐργασάμενος,
 δοχεῖον καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνά-
 δειξον ἐπελεύσεως· ὁ μέλλων

Through the intercessions of your most pure
 mother and all your
 saints, amen.

Another prayer of Metaphrastes:

Prayer 3

The only pure and undefiled
 Lord, who by ineffable
 compassionate love for human beings
 assumed our nature
 from the chaste and virginal
 blood of her who brought you forth
 marvelously through the coming of the
 Holy Spirit and through the approval of the eternal
 Father. Christ Jesus—wisdom, power
 and peace of God—who by assuming
 the life-giving and salutary
 sufferings has accepted
 the cross, the nails, the spear, and
 death, mortify the
 bodily passions that destroy my soul.
 You, who by your burial despoiled
 the kingdoms of hell,
 bury my diabolic evils
 with good thoughts
 and disperse
 the spirits of evil.
 You, who through your resurrection on the third day
 raised the fallen
 ancestor [i.e., Adam], raise me, who
 has slipped into sin,
 setting before me ways of repentance.
 You, who at your
 glorious ascension deified
 the flesh that you took up and

 honored it (by sitting) at the right-hand throne,
 deem me worthy of the right-hand part
 among the saved by
 partaking of your mysteries.
 You, who by the coming
 of your paraclete,
 the Spirit, made your holy disciples
 worthy vessels,
 proclaim me also as a receptacle of its
 coming; you who will

75 πάλιν ἔρχεσθαι κρίναι τὴν οἰ-
κουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, εὐ-
δόκησον καὶ με προσυπαντῇ-
σαι σοι ἐν νεφέλαις τῷ κριτῇ
καὶ πλάστη μου σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς
80 ἁγίοις σου, ἵνα ἀτελευτήτως
δοξολογῶ καὶ ὑμνῶ σε σὺν τῷ
ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρὶ· καὶ τῷ ζῶο-
ποιῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

85 **Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ:**
Οἶδα κύριε ὅτι ἀναξίως μεταλαμ-
βάνω τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώ-
ματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵμα-
τος· καὶ ἔνοχός εἰμι· καὶ κρίμα
90 ἔμαυτῷ ἐσθίω καὶ πίνω. μὴ
διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷ-
μα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ μου· ἀλλὰ
τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου θαρρῶν,
προσέρχομαι σοι τῷ εἰπόντι·
95 οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ
ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν·
τῷ εἰπόντι· ὁ τρώγων μου
τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου
τὸ αἷμα· ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει· καὶ γὰρ
100 ἐν αὐτῷ· σπλαγχνίσθητι κύριε καὶ
μὴ παραδειγματίσης με τὸν
ἁμαρτωλόν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσον με
τ' ἐμοῦ σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθόν· γενέ-
σθω μοι τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα, εἰς ἵα-
105 σιν καὶ φωτισμόν· καὶ φυλα-
κτήριον· καὶ σωτηρίαν· καὶ κάθα-
σιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν· καὶ ῥῶσιν ψυ-
χῆς καὶ σώματος· εἰς ἀποτρο-
πὴν πάσης φαντασίας καὶ
110 ἐνεργείας διαβολικῆς, κατὰ
διάνοιαν τῆς ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί
μου ἐνεργουμένης· εἰς παρ-
ρησίαν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν πρὸς σέ·
εἰς διόρθωσιν βίου καὶ ἀσφά-
115 λειαν· εἰς αὐξήσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ
τελειότητος· εἰς πλήρωμα
τῶν ἐντολῶν σου· εἰς πνεύματος ἁ-
γίου κοινωνίαν· εἰς ἐφόδιον

come again to judge
the whole world in justice, deem
me also worthy to meet you
in the clouds, my judge
and creator, with all
your saints, so that I may unendingly
glorify and hymn you
together with your Father, who is without beginning, and with
your life-giving and Holy Spirit. Now,
always and in eternity, amen.

Another prayer of the same:

Prayer 4

I know, Lord, that I am unworthy
to partake of your pure body
and your precious blood;
I am guilty, and I eat and drink
in judgment of myself,
not perceiving the body and blood
of my Christ and God but,
having confidence in your mercy,
I come forward to you who said,
“I have not come to call the righteous but the
sinners to repentance,”
you who said, “the one who eats my
flesh and drinks my
blood stays in me and I
in him.” Have compassion, Lord, and
do not make me, the sinner,
an example, but make me
a standard for the good.
May these holy things become for me
healing and illumination,
protection and salvation,
purification and sanctification, strength
of soul and body, a shield against
every apparition and
working of the devil that,
in my limbs,
carries out its purpose
frankness and love for you,
restoration of life and safety,
increase of virtue and
perfection, fulfillment of
your commands, communion
with the Holy Spirit, provision for

ζωῆς αἰωνίου· εἰς ἀπολο-
 120 γίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ
 τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματός σου·
 μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατὰκριμα.
Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ:
Πιστεύω κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι
 125 σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 ζῶντος· ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσ-
 μον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν
 πρῶτος εἰμὶ ἐγώ· δέομαι οὖν
 σου κύριε, ἐλέησον καὶ συγχώρη-
 130 σόν μοι τὰ παραπτώματά
 μου τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκού-
 σια· [τὰ ἐν] λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ· τὰ

 ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· καὶ ἀ-
 ξίωσόν με ἀκατακρίτως
 135 μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου
 μυστηρίων, εἰς ἄφεςιν ἁμαρ-
 τιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.
Εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι με-
ταλαβεῖν λεγομένη:
 140 Ἴδου βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινω-
 νίαν· πλαστουργέ μὴ φλέξης με
 τῇ μετουσίᾳ ἀλλὰ κάθαρον ἐξ
 ἀπάσης κηλίδος. **καὶ αὕτη:**
Μὴ μοι δέσποτα τὰ ἅγια ταῦ-
 145 τα εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατὰκρι-
 μα εἶη, ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ
 ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος,
 καὶ εἰς ἀρραβῶνα τῆς μελλού-
 σης ζωῆς καὶ βασιλείας.
 150 **Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα μετὰ τὸ ἀξι-**
ωθῆναι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων:
Εὐχαριστῶ σοι φιλόανθρωπε· ὅτι
 διὰ τὴν πολλήν σου ἀγαθότη-
 τα ἠνέσχου κοινωνόν με γε-
 155 νέσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώ-
 ματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵ-
 ματος· καὶ οὐκ ἐβδελύξω με
 ὡς μεμολυσμένον· οὐδὲ ὡς
 τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ
 160 σου ἀνάξιον ἀοράτῳ σου καὶ
 θείᾳ δυνάμει ἀπώσω· ἀλλ' εὐ-

eternal life, a
 welcome defense at
 your awe-inspiring judgment [seat],
 and not judgment or condemnation.
Another prayer of the same:
 I believe, Lord, and confess that
 you are the Christ, the son of the
 living God, who came into the world
 to save sinners, of whom
 I am foremost. I beg you, therefore,
 Lord, have mercy and forgive me
 my wrongdoings,
 voluntary and
 involuntary, those done in word and deed,

Prayer 5

.....
 knowingly and unknowingly, and
 without condemning me deem me worthy
 to partake of your undefiled
 mysteries for the forgiveness of sins
 and for eternal life.

Prayer said on the way
to partake of the eucharist:

Prayer 6

Behold, I proceed to communion with God:
 Creator, do not burn me
 in the communion, but cleanse me
 from every stain. **And the following one:**

Prayer 7

Let it not be, Master, that these holy
 elements lead to my judgment or condemnation, but
 [let them lead] to the purification and sanctification
 of soul and body,
 and let them become a token
 of the life and kingdom to come.

Another prayer after being deemed worthy
of the sacraments:

Prayer 8

I thank you, benevolent one, because
 through your great goodness
 you allowed me to become a partaker
 of your undefiled
 body and precious blood,
 you did not despise me
 for my impurity and you did not
 expel me by your invisible
 and divine power as one
 unworthy of receiving your

δόκησας κάμῃ τὸν ἁμαρτω-
λόν. τῇ ἀθανάτῳ σου δια-

=====

θρέψαι τραπέζῃ, ἥς τὴν
165 ζωοποιὸν χάριν ἀμείωτον
ἐν τῇ ταπεινῇ μου ψυχῇ δια-
τήρησον· καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν
σου ἀνεξάλειπτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
ποίησον· φωτίζων μου

170 πᾶσαν νόησιν καὶ πᾶσαν
αἴσθησιν· ἀπρόσκοπτόν
με φυλάττων καὶ ἀπερίτρε-
πτον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σκότους ἁ-
μαρτίας, τοῦ δοξάζειν καὶ
175 εὐχαριστεῖν σοι κατὰ τὸ σὸν ἅ-
γιον θέλημα πάσας τὰς
ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου· πρεσ-
βείαις τῆς παναχράντου
σου μητρός· τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου καὶ
180 θείων λειτουργῶν. καὶ πάν-
των τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοι εὐα-
ρεστησάντων ἁγίων ἀμήν.

Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα:

Τὸ σῶμα σου τὸ ἅγιον κύριε
185 γένοιτό μοι εἰς ζωὴν· καὶ
τὸ αἷμα σου τὸ τίμιον, εἰς
ἄφεσιν· καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ ἐν
τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου κρίσει, σταίην κα-
τέναντι τοῦ προσώπου σου·
190 γένοιτό μοι ἡ εὐχαριστία
αὕτη, εἰς χαρὰν καὶ ὑγείαν·
εἰς ἱάσιν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώ-
ματος· ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
195 ἀμήν. **Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα:**

.....
Τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος
καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵμα-
τος μυστικῶς ἀξιωθεὶς
γενέσθαι μέτοχος Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός,
200 ἀνυμνῶ, εὐλογῶ, προσκυ-
νῶ, δοξάζω, καὶ μεγαλύνω
τὰς σωτηρίας σου. Πάντο-
τε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ

sacrament, but it pleased you
to nourish even me, a sinner

=====

at your immortal table:
preserve its life-giving grace fresh
in my humble soul,
and do not let your sanctification
be washed away from me.
Illuminate every
perception of mind and sense,
keeping me free
from harm and unaffected
by the sin of darkness,
so that I may glorify and
thank you
in accordance with your holy will all the
days of my life.
Through the intercessions of your most pure
mother, your immaterial and
divine servants and all
the saints who are dear to you
forever, amen.

Another prayer:

May your holy body, Lord,
be to me life giving and
your precious blood to the
forgiveness of sins,
and at your holy judgment, may I stand
before your face;
may this eucharist
lead me to joy, health and
the healing of soul and
body, for blessed are you
into eternity,
amen. **Another prayer:**

Prayer 10

.....
Deemed worthy in a mystical way
to become a partaker of your undefiled body
and your precious blood,
Christ, God,
I sing, praise,
worship, glorify, and exalt
your works of salvation. Always,
now, ever, and

205 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
 τῶν αἰώνων.
 ἀμήν.

**Εὐχή τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου
 ἐπὶ ἐνοχλήσει ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν λεγομένη:**
 Πάνυ ὑπεσκελίσθην ὁ τάλας τὸν
 210 νοῦν τῇ πονηρᾷ συνηθείᾳ
 τῆς ἁμαρτίας δουλεύων· πάλιν ὁ τοῦ σκότους ἄρχων καὶ τῆς
 ἐμπαθοῦς ἡδονῆς ὁ γεννήτωρ
 αἰχμάλωτον εἶλε με· καὶ ὥσ-
 215 περ δούλον τεταπεινωμένον
 τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θελήματι καὶ ταῖς
 ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς βιάζων
 καταναγκάζει με· καὶ τί ποιή-
 σω κύριε μου κύριε λυτρωτὰ καὶ ὑ-
 220 περασπιστὰ τῶν πεποιθότων
 ἐπὶ σέ; πρὸς σέ πάλιν ἐπιστρα-
 φήσομαι καὶ στενάξω καὶ συγ-
 γνώμην αἰτήσομαι τῶν πε-
 πραγμένων μοι· ἀλλὰ δέδοικα
 225 καὶ τρέμω· μήπως καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἐξομολογούμενος καὶ ἀποχρὴν
 τῶν κακῶν ἐπαγγελλόμενος·
 καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἁμαρτάνων· καὶ
 μὴ ἀποδιδούς τὰς εὐχάς μου
 230 σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου, τὴν μακροθυ-
 μίαν σου ἐγείρω πρὸς ἀγανά-
 κτησιν· καὶ τίς ὑποίσει κύριε τὸν
 θυμὸν σου; γινώσκων οὖν τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου
 235 δέσποτα· καὶ τὴν ἄβυσσον τῆς
 φιλανθρωπίας σου, πάνυ ἐπιρρί-
 πτω ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλεος τῆς
 εὐσπλαγχνίας σου. καὶ κράξω
 σοι τὸ ἥμαρτον· ὁ Θεὸς ἐλέησόν
 240 με τὸν παραπεσόντα· καὶ
 δός μοι χεῖρα βοηθείας τῷ ἐν
 βορβόρῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν βεβυ-
 θισμένῳ· καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς
 με τὸ πλάσμα σου φθαρῆναι
 245 ταῖς ἀνομίαις καὶ ἁμαρτίαις
 μου· ἀλλὰ τῇ συνήθει σου χρη-

into
 eternity,
 amen.

**Prayer of our father among the saints, Basil the Great,
 said on the occasion of annoyance by impure thoughts:**
 Totally ashamed am I, wretched in
 mind, one servile to the evil habit
 of sin. Once more
 the ruler of darkness and
 author of passionate desire
 has held me captive, and
 he overpowers me as a
 humble slave, forcing me
 by his will
 and the desires of the flesh: what
 shall I do, my Lord, Lord, redeemer and
 protector of those who have put
 faith in you? To you I will
 return again, groan, and ask for forgiveness
 for the things I
 have done. But I fear
 and tremble that, although I confess
 every day and promise
 to refrain from evil things,
 I sin each time; when I do not
 offer my prayers to you,
 my God, I make
 your mercy turn into
 wrath. And who, Lord, will endure
 your anger? Knowing the
 magnitude of your compassion,
 Lord, and the infinite depth
 of your love for humans, I throw myself
 fully into the arms of your
 compassion. And I will cry out
 to you, I sinned. God, have mercy
 on me who has fallen;
 give me, who is plunged in
 the filth of lust, a helping hand
 and let me—
 the thing that you formed—not perish
 in my misdeeds and sins,
 but rescue me, with your customary

Prayer 11

250 στότητι χρησάμενος, ῥύσαι
 με τοῦ μiasμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου
 τῆς σαρκός μου· καὶ τῶν ἐμ-
 παθῶν λογισμῶν τῶν καθ' ἐ-
 κάστην καταχραϊνόντων
 τὴν ἐμὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν· ἰδοὺ
 γὰρ κύριε ὁ Θεός μου οὐκ ἔτι τόπος
 ἐν ταύτῃ καθαρός, ἀλλ' ὅλη λε-
 255 λέπρωται ὁλοσώματον ἔχου-
 σα πληγὴν· αὐτὸς οὖν ὡς
 ἱατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐ-
 λέους πηγῇ, καθάρισον ταύ-
 την τῇ τῶν δακρύων μου κα-
 260 θάρσει· ταῦτα προχέων ἐπ'
 ἐμοὶ δαψιλῶς· ἐπιχες τὴν
 φιλανθρωπίαν σου καὶ ἰᾶσαι τὰ

.....
 συντρίμματα ταύτης· καὶ
 δός μοι τὴν ἰασιν καὶ τὴν κά-
 265 θαρσιν· καὶ μὴ ἀποστρέφῃς
 τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
 καὶ ὡς ὕλην καταφάγεται με τὸ
 τῆς ἀπογνώσεως πῦρ· ἀλλ' ὁ-
 περ εἶπας ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός, ὅτι
 270 μεγάλη χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ
 ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μετανοίᾳ,
 τοῦτοπραχθεῖη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῷ
 ἁμαρτωλῷ· καὶ μὴ κλείσῃς
 τὰ ὦτα τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας σου
 275 εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν τῆς μετα-
 νοίας μου· ἀλλ' ἀνοιξόν μοι
 αὐτά· καὶ ὡς θυμίαμα κατεύ-
 θυνον αὐτὴν ἐνώπιόν σου·
 οἶδας γὰρ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν
 280 ὁ πλάστης καὶ Θεός μου· καὶ τὸ
 εὐόλισθον τῆς νεότητος ὡς
 ἀλάθητος· καὶ παρορᾷς
 ἁμαρτίας· καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν
 ἐκδέχῃ τῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐπι-
 285 καλουμένων σε· ὅτι εὐλογη-
 τὸς εἰ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Εὐχὴ ἐτέρα εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν:

Φιλάνθρωπε δέσποτα καὶ δημι-
 ουργὲ πάσης ὁρατῆς καὶ

goodness, from
 the defilement and filth
 of my flesh and
 my passionate thoughts that
 every day foul
 my wretched soul. For behold,
 Lord, my God, there is no longer
 a pure place in my soul, but it
 has become totally leprous, lesioned
 throughout. Now you,
 healer of souls and fountain of mercy,
 cleanse my soul
 by the cleansing of my tears,
 letting them flow forth
 abundantly over me. Pour out
 your benevolence and heal

 my soul's afflictions,
 give me healing and
 cleansing and do not turn
 your face away from me,
 since the fire of despair
 devours me as matter. But
 you, the undeceiving God, said
 that there is great joy in heaven
 at the repentance of the sinner,
 may this happen also for me, the
 sinner, and let the ears
 of your compassion not be closed
 to the prayer of
 my repentance, but let them be opened to me
 and let my prayer rise up as incense
 before you.
 Indeed you, my maker and God,
 know our weakness and the
 wavering age of youth;
 for nothing escapes your attention; may you disregard
 sins and receive the repentance
 of those who call on you
 in truth, for you are blessed
 into eternity, amen.
Another prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ:
 Benevolent master and crafter
 of the whole creation, visible and

Prayer 12

290	ἀοράτου κτίσεως· ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι μᾶλλον καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν· ὁ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἀνα- κλήσει τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν	and invisible, who does not want the sinner to die but rather to repent and live, who for the salvation and restoration of the one formed after your image
295	πεπλασμένου· τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄ- πόρρητον τῆς σῆς ἐνανθρω- πήσεως ἐπιτελέσας μυστήριον· ὁ διὰ τὸ εὐόλισθον καὶ πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν ὀξύρροπον τοῦ	has accomplished the great and ineffable mystery of your incarnation, because of the character of the mortal compound,
300	βροτείου φυράματος τὸ τῆς μετανοίας ἡμῖν συμπαθῶς δωρησάμενος φάρμακον, ἐ- πιβλεψὼν εὐμενῶς ἐξ ὕψους ἀγίου σου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀθλιότητα·	unsteady and quickly lapsing toward sin, who offered us the medicine of repentance with compassion: look favorably from the height of your holiness upon my wretchedness,
305	καὶ δέξαι μου τὴν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ώρα προσφερομένην σοι δέ- ησιν· καὶ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἣν ἐκ νεότητός μου καὶ μέ- χρι τοῦ νῦν ἔκουσίως ἢ ἄκου-	accept my prayer that is offered to you at this moment and disregard every sin done from my youth to the present, voluntarily or involuntarily,
310	σίως ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ- μάρτηκα· δι' ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἢ ἐνθυμήσεων, πάριδε· οἱ- δα μὲν γὰρ οἶδα κύριε μου, ὅτι πέρα συγγνώμης τὰ ἐμὰ πλη-	knowingly or unknowingly, in deed, word, or thought. I know, indeed, I know, my Lord, that my faults are beyond excuse,
315	μμελήματα· οὐ τῇ ποσότητι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ποιότητι ^b · πλήν οἷα καὶ ὅσα ἀνθρώπῳ ὦσι, δύναται τὸ πέλαγος τῶν σῶν οἰκτιρμῶν ἐξαλεῖψαι αὐτά· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο	not only in number, but also in kind. But of whatever quality and quantity they are in a human being, the sea of your compassion is able to expiate them. And so, you
320	ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ τὰ πάντα πλη- ρὼν καταβέβηκας· διὰ τοῦ- το ^c τὸ μακάριον ὁ ἀπαθὴς ὑπέμεινας πάθος· καὶ τὸν ζω- ηφόρον καὶ σωτήριον θάνατον·	who fulfill all things came down to earth; you who are without suffering endured the blessed suffering, the life-giving and saving death.
325	ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς μεσιτείαν κάγω προβάλλομαι· τοxύτοις σὲ τὸν... ^d	Therefore, I put forward these things for mediation....

b ms. πιότητι.

c ms. διατοῦτο.

d τούτοις σὲ τὸν εὐδιάλλακτον δυσωπήσαι
πιστεύω.... (Horologion Sinai gr. 712 and
Stavrou 86; see pp. 177–78, below).

The Endicott Scroll in the History of Private Communion Prayers

Communion Prayers (Prayers 1–10)

The use of private communion prayers is a characteristic of all Eastern liturgies in their present usage. Alphonsus Raes comments that in all Eastern rites the priest recites prayers of preparation before receiving communion.¹ The practice of reciting private communion prayers in the Byzantine rite, however, is not limited to clergy but is expected of all the faithful. In this section I describe the private communion prayers in the Endicott Scroll, discuss their history, and locate the proper place of the Endicott Scroll in the history of private communion prayers.

The communion prayers are identified as such by both their content and rubrics. Prayer 2 of the Endicott Scroll has the title *εὐχή ἑτέρα* (another prayer; line 10), indicating that the preceding prayer, of which we only have the end, is of the same genre, i.e., a communion prayer. This is confirmed when we compare the surviving end of prayer 1 with the end of a prayer ascribed to John Chrysostom (prayer 1.3; prayers and rubrics with double numeration are listed and explained in the appendix) in the current office of holy communion (the underlined phrases in column two are found in the conclusion of prayer 1 of the Endicott Scroll):

Endicott Scroll, conclusion of prayer 1

...ἀνεξάλειπτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσον· καὶ γενοῦ μοι
βοηθὸς καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ καταξιῶν με καὶ τῆς ἐκ
δεξιῶν σου παραστάσεως· εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις
τῆς παναχράντου σου μητρὸς

καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοι
εὐαρεστησάντων. ἀμήν.

Current office of communion, prayer 1.3
(of Chrysostom)

...ἀνεξάλειπτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσον. Καὶ γενοῦ μοι
βοηθὸς καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ, κυβερνῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν ζωὴν
μου, καταξιῶν με καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου παραστάσεως
μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου· εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις τῆς
παναχράντου σου Μητρὸς, τῶν ἁγίων σου λειτουργῶν
καὶ ἀχράντων Δυνάμεων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, τῶν
ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοι εὐαρεστησάντων. Ἀμήν.²

Comparison of the two texts suggests that, had our manuscript been complete, it would have presented the third prayer of the Office of Holy Communion in an earlier stage of development.

¹ *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem* (Rome, 1947), 103. For a comparative chart see 110–11. Regarding the private communion prayers in the Roman rite, J. Jungmann in his *Mass of the Roman Rite* (Allen, TX, 1986) mentions that “this cycle of silent prayers...was added to the Roman Mass in the area of the Gallo-Frankish Church....

They are mainly shoots that grew from the still living roots of the abandoned Gallican liturgy.... They are private prayers, as the ‘I’-form which is their very basis clearly betrays” (2:344). “The prevailing address to Christ and the partly unusual concluding formulas are also in keeping with the non-Roman origin of these prayers” (2:345).

These prayers were also used by the faithful (2:367–74). They first appear in ninth-century sources (2:345).

² *Ωρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Athens, 1995), 512–13.

As noted above, it is expected, at least in theory, that all the faithful recite the office of holy communion when they are to receive the eucharist. This office is to be found in the *Book of Hours* (Ἑρρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, on which see below, p. 167) and comprises four parts: (1) a *kanon* to be said the evening before communion, attached to compline or the supplicatory *kanon* to the Virgin; (2) three psalms (22, 23, 115 LXX), six hymns, and ten prayers to be said in the morning after one arises; (3) seven prayers or hymns to be said while going to receive communion; and finally (4) six prayers of thanksgiving after receiving communion.³

Prayers 1–10 in our manuscript are divided by rubrics into three categories that coincide with parts 2, 3, and 4 of the current office of communion, namely, prayers recited before receiving (1–5), while going to receive (ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι μεταλαβεῖν, 6–7), and after receiving the eucharist (μετὰ τὸ ἀξιώθῃναι τῶν ἀγιασμάτων, 8–10).

Prayers before Receiving Communion

The prayers before receiving communion are usually introduced by a short rubric. Although the beginning of the Endicott Scroll is missing, we can assume that it had this introductory rubric since it contains the other rubrics, for the prayers read during and after communion (see below). Its list of five prayers recited before receiving communion is short compared to the ten prayers contained currently in this part of the office of communion, as seen in the following comparison:

Table 1. Prayers before Receiving Communion

Endicott Scroll	Current office of communion
1. Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου...	1.3. Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου... (Chrysostom)
2. Δέσποτα Κύριε...ὁ μόνος ἔχων (John of Damascus)	1.6. Δέσποτα Κύριε...ὁ μόνος ἔχων (John of Damascus)
3. Ὁ μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρατος... (Symeon Metaphrastes)	1.8. Ὁ μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρατος... (Symeon Metaphrastes)
4. Οἶδα Κύριε, ὅτι ἀναξίως... (Symeon Metaphrastes)	1.2. Οἶδα Κύριε, ὅτι ἀναξίως... (Basil the Great)
5. Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ... (Symeon Metaphrastes)	1.10. Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ... (Taft 1, 2; ⁴ Chrysostom)
	1.1. Δέσποτα Κύριε...ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς (Basil the Great)
	1.4. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανός... (Chrysostom)
	1.5. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ... (Chrysostom)
	1.7. Ἀπὸ βυπαρῶν χειλέων... (Symeon the New Theologian)
	1.9. Πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Ναοῦ σου... (John of Damascus)

³ Ibid., 505–21. The office of holy communion is also found in the *Τερατικόν* (Athens, 1995), but in three different places: the unit titled “Office of Holy Communion” (230–41) contains part 1 and most of part 2 (the three psalms and the first 9 of the 10 prayers); the communion rites of the divine

liturgy (132–33) contain prayer 10 of part 2, and all the prayers of part 3; and immediately after the divine liturgy (140–43) is found part 4. It should be noted that none of these prayers appear in the *Ἀρχιερατικόν*.

⁴ Numbers following the abbreviation *Taft* refer to Taft’s numbering of these prayers

in his article “Byzantine Communion Rites II: Later Formulas and Rubrics in the Ritual of Clergy Communion” *OCP* 67 (2001): 275–352. For the list of prayers, see 285–96. I thank Robert Taft for sharing this article with me before its publication.

We note here that prayers 1–5 of our manuscript are all present in the current office of communion in almost the same sequence but for one (4 = 1.2). Prayers 3 and 1.8 are the same with minor variations. Prayers 4 and 5 of our manuscript have different attributions. Prayer 4 is identical to 1.2 but includes an extra phrase (lines 95–96). Prayers 5 and 1.10 are an interesting case.⁵ In a recent article Robert Taft traces the history of the prayer (which he numbers 1 and 2) in the manuscript tradition and he divides it as follows:

(Taft 1) Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἀληθῶς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος, ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν πρῶτός εἰμι ἐγώ.

(Taft 2) Ἐτι πιστεύω, ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ ἄχραντον Σῶμά σου, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ τίμιον Αἷμά σου. Δέομαι οὖν σου· ἐλέησόν με, καὶ συγχώρησόν μοι τὰ παραπτώματά μου, τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν λόγῳ, τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· καὶ ἀξιώσόν με ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου Μυστηρίων, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Taft suggests that the first part was in some instances a prayer by itself, as in the thirteenth-century Patmos 719, while the second part elaborated the first, and is not found in the earliest sources.⁶ What makes prayer 5 of our manuscript unique is that, although it presents Taft 1 and 2 as one prayer (with minor variants), it lacks the opening sentence of Taft 2. I propose then the following reconstruction of the history of this prayer. In stage one, Taft 1 stood on its own, remaining very simple, as in Patmos 719. In stage two, Taft 1 was elaborated and the prayer was extended with the addition of the phrase Δέομαι οὖν σου until the end, as witnessed in our manuscript. In the final stage, the opening phrase of Taft 2 was added, putting the prayer in its current form. An additional witness to stage two is the fourteenth-century scroll Ann Arbor 84, where the prayer is identical to that of the Endicott Scroll and it appears twice (lines 349–61 and 447–58). This proposed reconstruction may be seen in the following table:

⁵ There is a curious occurrence of this prayer in Vatican gr. 1557, where its incipit appears in the prothesis (preparation rites) of the presanctified liturgy (fol. 93r).

⁶ Ibid., 279, 285–86.

⁷ A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei khraniashchikhsia v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka* (Kiev, 1901), 2:174.

Table 2. A Suggested Evolution of the Prayer Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ...

Stage 1 Patmos 719	Stage 2 Endicott Scroll and Ann Arbor 84	Stage 3 Office of Communion
Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος	Πιστεύω κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος· ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν πρῶτος εἰμι ἐγώ.	Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἀληθῶς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ζώντος, ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν πρῶτός εἰμι ἐγώ.
πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. ⁷	δέομαι οὖν σου κύριε, ἐλέησον...καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.	Ἐτι πιστεύω, ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ ἄχραντον Σῶμά σου, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ τίμιον Αἷμα σου. Δέομαι οὖν σου· ἐλέησόν...καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Prayers for Going to Receive Communion

Table 3. Prayers at Communion

Endicott Scroll	Current office of communion
Rubric 2.5 (see appendix): ἐν τῷ ἀπερχέσθαι μεταλαβεῖν	Rubric 2.3: ἀπερχόμενος δὲ μεταλαβεῖν
6. Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω... (IH 1:168) ⁸	2.1. Ἰδοὺ, βαδίζω... (Taft 3, IH 1:168; Symeon Metaphrastes)
7. Μή μοι δέσποτα...	2.2. Τοῦ Δείπνου σου... (Taft 4, IH 4:267)
	2.3. Θεουργὸν Αἷμα... (Taft 7, IH 2:131)
	2.4. Ἐθέλξας πόθῳ με Χριστέ... (Taft 8, IH 1:356)
	2.5. Ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι... (Taft 9, IH 1:461)
	2.6. Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε... (Taft 10)
	2.2. Τοῦ Δείπνου σου... (Taft 4, IH 4:267)

Prayer 6 is similar to 2.1, does not have an ascription, and preserves an earlier stage of development. It is an important witness to the history of prayer 2.1 of the current office of communion, and offers an important variant. First, it does not contain the phrase Πῦρ γὰρ ὑπάρχεις τοὺς ἀναξίους φλέγον, an elaboration of the phrase μὴ φλέξης..., which is most likely a later addition (see table 4; not in the early MSS). Second, according to our text the individual prays while proceeding “to communion with God” (βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν), but according to the received text the individual prays while proceeding “to Holy Communion” (βαδίζω πρὸς θείαν κοινωνίαν), a theologically significant difference. The first emphasizes the purpose of the Eucharist, that is, communion with God; the latter emphasizes the approach to the Eucharistic elements.

A very close witness to prayer 6 of the Endicott Scroll can be found within the communion rites of the Liturgy of Chrysostom in the eleventh-century euchologion Benaki Museum 27 (56), folio 23v. Two other witnesses of the same prayer with the variant πρὸς Θεοῦ, but with the addition of the phrase Πῦρ γὰρ ὑπάρχεις..., can be found in the twelfth-century scroll Taphou 521 (lines 636–43) and the fourteenth-century scroll Ann Arbor 84 (lines 437–40). These last two witnesses are scrolls with communion prayers.

⁸ IH numbers refer to the volume and page of Henrica Follieri's invaluable index of Byzantine poetic pieces, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, Studi e Testi 211–215bis (Vatican, 1960–66).

Table 4. Prayer Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω

Prayer 2.1 of current office of communion	Prayer 6 of Endicott Scroll	Benaki Museum 27 (56)	Taphou 521	Ann Arbor 84
Ἰδοὺ, βαδίζω πρὸς θείαν Κοινωνίαν. Πλαστοργέ, μὴ φλέξης με τῇ μετουσίᾳ.	Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν. πλαστοργέ μὴ φλέξης με τῇ μετουσίᾳ	Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν, Δέσποτα μὴ φλέξης με τῇ μετουσίᾳ	Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν. Εὐσπλαγχνε μὴ φλέξης με τῇ μετουσίᾳ.	Ἰδοὺ βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν. Δέσποτα μὴ φλέξης με τῇ μετουσίᾳ.
Πῦρ γὰρ ὑπάρχεις τοὺς ἀναξίους φλέγον.			Πῦρ γὰρ ἔφης μοι τοὺς ἀναξίους φλέγον.	Πῦρ γὰρ ἔφης μοι τοὺς ἀναξίους φλέγον.
Ἄλλ' οὐν κάθαρον ἐκ πάσης με κηλίδος.	ἀλλὰ κάθαρον ἐξ ἀπάσης κηλίδος.	ἀλλ' ἐκκάθαρον ἐκ πάσης με κηλίδος.	Ἄλλὰ κάθαρον ἐκ πάσης με κηλίδος.	Ἄλλὰ κάθαρον ἐκ πάσης με κηλίδος.

Prayer 7 of the Endicott Scroll is similar to prayer 2.6 of the current office of communion but much briefer, once more indicating that our manuscript has preserved many of its communion prayers in a relatively early stage of development:

Prayer 7 of Endicott Scroll

Μή μοι δέσποτα τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα εἶη, ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, καὶ εἰς ἀρραβῶνα τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς καὶ βασιλείας.

Prayer 2.6 of current office of communion

Δέσποτα φιλόνητο, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός μου, μή εἰς κρίμα μοι γένοιτο τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα, διὰ τὸ ἀνάξιον εἶναί με, ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, καὶ εἰς ἀρραβῶνα τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς καὶ βασιλείας. Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλησθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαθόν ἐστι· τίθεσθαι ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας μου.

The prayer is split into two in the fourteenth-century scroll Ann Arbor 84, where we see the following sequence:

1. Μή μοι δέσποτα...ζωῆς καὶ βασιλείας
2. Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ... (= 1.10)
3. Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλησθαι... (an independent prayer).

One could argue that the scribe forgot the final phrase of the prayer, and added it at the conclusion of the next prayer. On the other hand, one could hypothesize that Ann Arbor 84 attests to the gradual attraction and eventual addition of the final psalmic phrase Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλησθαι... (LXX Ps 72:28) to the prayer.⁹ Even in the early printed books of hours, in which the office of communion appears, the phrase Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλησθαι... appears following the prayer Μή μοι δέσποτα...ζωῆς καὶ βασιλείας, but independently since it begins a separate paragraph, and the first letter, E, is printed in red.¹⁰

Three manuscripts contain very early versions of this prayer: the eleventh-century scroll Byzantine Museum 127 (lines 463–66);¹¹ the twelfth-century scroll Taphou 521 (lines 644–50): Δέσποτα φιλόνητο μή εἰς κρίμα μοι γένοιτο τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα· ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος; and the thirteenth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 870, f. 77v: Δέσποτα Φιλόνητο μή εἰς κατάκριμα μοι γενέσθω τὰ ἅγια

⁹ Taft, "Rites II," 288–89.

¹⁰ See, for example, *Ἠρολόγιον περιέχον τὰ ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην σελίδι γεγραμμένα* (Florence, 1520), n.p.; *Ἠρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ, ἔχον τὴν ἅπασαν Ἀκολουθίαν* (Venice, 1523), 162v; *Ἠρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ* (Venice, 1535), n.p.; *Ἠρολόγιον* (Venice, 1575), n.p.; *Ἠρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ* (Venice, 1580), n.p.; *Ἠρολόγιον, ἀρτι μετατυπωθὲν καὶ διωρθωθὲν παρὰ Θεοφυλάκτου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Τζανφουρνάρου* (Venice,

1632), 631. This is not observed in later editions, such as *Ἠρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ, περιέχον τὴν ἅπασαν Ἀκολουθίαν* (Venice, 1769), 473; *Ἠρολόγιον Μέγα, περιέχον τὴν ἅπασαν Ἡμερονύκτιον Ἀκολουθίαν...* (Venice, 1787), 603.

¹¹ Identical to Taphou 521 (discussed next), except it begins Δέσποτα Φιλόνητο Κύριε. Byzantine Museum 127 also contains a slightly expanded version of this prayer in

lines 419–23: Δέσποτα Κύριε Φιλόνητο· Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός μου. Μή εἰς κρίμα μοι τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα λογισθῶσιν, διὰ τὸ ἀνάξιον ὄντα με. Ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος. The same scroll contains the Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλησθαι... as an independent prayer (line 499).

ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εἰς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος. A version of this prayer also appears in the thirteenth-century codex Karlsruhe EM 6 in the communion rites of the Liturgy of Chrysostom, but it follows the reception of the eucharist.¹²

Prayers of Thanksgiving after Communion

Of the three prayers after communion in the Endicott Scroll, only number 9 corresponds to a prayer in the current office, number 3.4. In addition, our manuscript does not provide any ascription to the prayers. Prayers 8 (= 3.6 in appendix) and 10 (= 3.7) occur in the manuscript tradition.¹³

Table 5. Prayers after Communion

Endicott Scroll	Current office of communion
Rubric 3.4: μετὰ τὸ ἀξιωθῆναι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων	Rubric 3.2: μετὰ τὴν Θείαν Μετάληψιν
8. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι φιλόανθρωπε...	
9. Τὸ σῶμά σου τὸ ἅγιον...	3.4. Τὸ σῶμά σου τὸ ἅγιον... (anon.)
10. Τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος...	
	3.1. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε... (anon.)
	3.2. Δέσποτα Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς... (Basil the Great)
	3.3. Ὁ δοὺς τροφὴν μοι... (Symeon Metaphrastes)
	3.5. Παναγία Δέσποινα, Θεοτόκε... (anon.)

We may gain a glimpse into the origins of prayer 9 by comparing it with *Acts of Thomas* 158.1–4, an anaphoric hymn that seems either to be the source of our prayer 9, or to share with prayer 9 the same liturgical *Formelgut*.¹⁴

Prayer 9/3.4

Τὸ σῶμα σου τὸ ἅγιον κύριε
γένοιτό μοι εἰς ζώην· καὶ τὸ
αἷμα σου τὸ τίμιον, εἰς ἄφεσιν
ἁμαρτιῶν

Acts of Thomas 158.1–4

Τὸ σῶμά σου τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν σταυρωθὲν ἐσθίομεν καὶ τὸ
αἷμα σου τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθὲν
εἰς σωτηρίαν πίνομεν· γένηται οὖν
ἡμῖν τὸ σῶμά σου σωτηρία καὶ τὸ
αἷμά σου εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

¹² Taft, "Rites II," 316.

¹³ Prayer 8: the thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 973 (1152–53); Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 2:123. Prayer 10: P. Trempelas, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις Κώδικας* (Athens, 1982) 144–45; Dmitrievskii,

Opisanie, 2:825, 951.

¹⁴ R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), 2:268. I thank David Pitt for bringing this text to my attention.

One notable difference is that Prayer 9 of the Endicott Scroll is a private prayer (γένοιτό μοι = may it be to *me*), while the hymn in the *Acts of Thomas* is clearly public (γένηται ἡμῖν = is to *us*).

History of Private Communion Prayers

Robert Taft traces various historical stages in the entrance of these private communion prayers into the euchologion. In the first stage, private communion prayers existed in nonliturgical devotional collections. In the second stage, such prayers were incorporated into euchologia but apart from the eucharistic formularies. In the third stage, some of these prayers entered the communion ritual of the divine liturgies. This third stage is first attested in tenth-century manuscripts from southern Italy and in eleventh-century manuscripts in Palestine.¹⁵

The Byzantine liturgical commentaries do not refer to private communion prayers in their descriptions and comments on the communion ritual. In the *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation* of St. Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733) there is no mention of any private prayers as part of preparation for receiving communion.¹⁶ There is also no mention of such prayers in the *Protheoria*, dated to the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁷ Nicholas Cabasilas (14th c.) discusses them neither in his commentary on the liturgy of the faithful nor in his “theological parenthesis,” where he speaks about the eucharist and its effects.¹⁸ In his other important work, *On the Life of Christ*, he speaks in the following manner of preparing to receive the eucharist: “From what has been said it is clear how we must prepare ourselves to touch the sacred Gifts, that we must indeed cleanse ourselves of our own accord before the sacred rite.”¹⁹ For Cabasilas, preparing to receive the eucharist is pursuing goodness; in the contest of virtue this means “spontaneously bestirring ourselves and moving as already skilled runners,” “no longer...asleep but occupied in deeds.” “We must feed on our Bread ‘in the sweat of our face’ (Gen. 3:19) since it is ‘broken for us’ (1 Cor. 11:24), for it is appointed only for those who are endowed with reason.... He commands us not to be idle and inactive, but to come to His banquet as those who are working,” in other words, “to live the new life in Christ and to display its righteousness.”²⁰ Finally, Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429) in his *De sacra liturgia* does not mention anything regarding private devotional prayers at the time of communion.²¹ In his *Expositio de divino templo* he seems to consider the Lord’s Prayer

15 Taft, “Rites II,” 342.

16 *On the Divine Liturgy*, trans., intro., and comm. by P. Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984). See paragraph 43 (pp. 104–6) for the pertinent section of his commentary.

17 PG 140:417–68; pertinent paragraphs:

37–38 (cols. 464–65).

18 Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London, 1966; repr. 1983), paras. 39 (pp. 92–93) and 43 (pp. 98–100).

19 Ibid., para. 11b (p. 132). All Cabasilas

translations by Hussey and McNulty.

20 Ibid., paras. 11b (pp. 131–32) and 15 (p. 139).

21 PG 155:300BD.

to be the preamble to communion, and the only prayer for communion seems to be the precommunion prayer. There is again no mention of private devotional prayers.²²

It is clear that the Endicott Scroll is a private, nonliturgical collection of communion prayers, similar to other such scrolls dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.²³ It is also clear that the Endicott Scroll belongs to the first stage in this development. The question, however, is whether we can go back further, before the first stage, to find the origins of these private communion prayers.

The Origins of Private Communion Prayers

As Taft has shown, the earliest evidence for private communion prayers comes from the late fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries.²⁴ Our sources are *Homily* 16 of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a prayer of Philoxenus of Mabbug, the *Testamentum domini*, Narsai's *Homily* 21, and the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *HOMILY* 16.28–29. In this homily, written sometime between 392 and 428, Theodore describes the proper disposition for receiving the sacrament:

After you have received the body, *you offer adoration as a confession of the power* placed in your hands, while remembering the words uttered by our Lord to His disciples after He rose from the dead: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." You press it with great and true love to your eyes and kiss it, *and you offer (to it) your prayers as if to Christ our Lord*, who is at present so near to you, and in whom you believed before that you had confidence, which you will receive now that you have drawn nigh unto Him and held Him. *You pray, while confessing your weakness, the great number of your sins, and your great unworthiness for such a gift. You glorify also in a fitting manner the One who granted these things to a person such as you, and rendered you worthy to receive help from Him to the extent that you became worthy to receive the communion, free from all evil things and doing all the things that please Him.*

You receive the communion with these and similar (devotional acts), and you send the participation of the Sacrament inside.... After you have received the communion you rightly and spontaneously offer thanksgiving and praise to God, so that you may not be ungrateful with regard to this Divine gift.²⁵

Theodore's guidelines not only refer to one's proper disposition in approaching the Eucharist but provide in outline the backbone of a private communion prayer: confession of sinfulness and unworthiness

²² PG 155:74C.

²³ S. Gerstel, "Liturgical Scrolls in the Byzantine Sanctuary," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 35 (1994): 202.

²⁴ "Rites II," 296–99.

²⁵ Trans. A. Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrooke Studies 6 (Cambridge, 1933), 113–14. Emphasis added. For another translation, see E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN, 1993), 242–43.

for receiving the Eucharist (“You pray...such a gift”), thanksgiving and doxology for being able to receive the Eucharist (“You glorify...help from Him”), and a petition and pledge of a new life (“became worthy...please Him”).

THE PRAYER OF PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG. In 1996 Aelred Cody published a prayer from a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript containing instructions for the attitude and manner of receiving communion.²⁶ He noted that a shorter form of the same prayer also existed in a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript.²⁷ He considered the longer prayer to be instructional, while the shorter prayer, found in a practical collection and short enough to be memorized, a prayer in actual use. Cody provided us with the longer prayer, but he underlined the sections that the longer prayer has in common with the shorter prayer. He dated the longer prayer to around 500 CE.²⁸ Using Cody’s text, translation, and references, we may reconstruct the shorter prayer:

I carry you, living God who is incarnate in the bread, and I embrace you in my palms, Lord of the worlds whom no world has contained.... Make me worthy to eat you in a holy manner.... By your food may my desires be killed, and by the drinking of your cup may my passions be quenched.... And [together] with my body, may my thoughts receive vital strength from the nourishment of your holy body. And to you, Christ God, be glory and thanksgiving and worship forever.

This prayer is short enough to be memorized and used at communion. This might be our earliest instance of this genre of prayer.

TESTAMENTUM DOMINI. This early church order, dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, contains a private prayer of preparation for communion.²⁹ It also urges the communicants to offer a prayer of thanksgiving after the reception of communion. As Taft has observed, the prayer (in italics, below) is a gloss on the Lord’s Prayer:³⁰

26 “An Instruction of Philoxenus of Mabbug on Gestures and Prayer When One Receives Communion in the Hand, with a History of the Manner of Receiving the Eucharistic Bread in the West Syrian Church” in *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.*, ed. Nathan Mitchell and John Baldovin (Collegeville, MN), 56–79, from British Library Add. 14,529, fols. 16v–17r.

27 British Library Add. 17,125.

28 “Instruction of Philoxenus” 59–60,

64. Commenting on the longer prayer, Taft (“Rites II,” 298 [n. 4 above]) has noted that “this is one of the earliest extensive witnesses to the tendency in early Syriac Christianity to address the eucharistic Christ in prayer directly.”

29 Earlier date: G. Sperry-White, *The Testamentum Domini: A Text for Students, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, Alcuin/Grow Liturgical Study 19 (Nottingham, 1991), 6. Later date: P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins*

of Christian Worship, 2nd ed. (New York–Oxford, 2002), 86–87.

30 “Rites II,” 299.

*Let each one, when he receives the thanksgiving, say amen before partaking. Afterwards, let him [or her] pray in the following way; after he receives from the Eucharist let him say: Holy, Holy, Holy, ineffable Trinity. Grant me to receive this body for life, not for condemnation. And grant me to bear fruits pleasing to you, that I may appear pleasing to you. May I live in you as I perform your commandments, and may I call you Father with courage. When I call [down] upon myself your kingdom and your will, may your name be sanctified in me, because you are mighty and glorious, and praise [be] to you forever. Amen. After the prayer, let him [or her] receive. When he receives the cup, let him say amen two times for the fullness of the body and blood. After all have received let them pray, confessing and giving thanks for receiving...*³¹

HOMILY 21 OF NARSAI (D. 502). After describing the communion ritual in this homily (titled “On the Mysteries of the Church and on Baptism”), Narsai urges:

*Let us receive the Bread, and let us affirm that it is able to forgive iniquity; let us drink the Wine, and let us confess that the drinking of it distributes life. Let us honour them as the Body and Blood of the King; that they may conduct us even unto the glorious things that are in the Kingdom. Let us believe that they are able to give life to our mortality; and let us stretch forth our mind to the expectation of the hope that is in them.... [L]et us not doubt concerning the renovation that is (wrought) in the things that are manifest.... [L]et us have recourse to the power of its spiritual aid.... [L]et us be eager to approach it in holiness.... It is a goodly medicine.... [L]et us all put it upon our sores, and acquire from it resurrection of body and salvation of soul.*³²

This exhortation may or may not reflect a prayer of thanksgiving, but its contents clearly parallel the themes of private thanksgiving communion prayers.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESSES* 5.22. Finally, in another important catechetical document of the fourth century we find the following: “While waiting for the [post-communion] prayer, give thanks to God, who has deemed you worthy of such great mysteries.”³³ It is obvious that here we have a clear exhortation to

31 Trans. Sperry-White, *Testamentum Domini*, 19.

32 Trans. R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Texts and Studies 8.1 (Cambridge, 1909), 60–61.

33 Εἴτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν, εὐχαρίστει

τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν τηλικούτων μυστηρίων. Yarnold’s translation: “Then await the prayer, and give thanks to God who has counted you worthy of such mysteries”; *Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 97.

private prayer within a public liturgical setting, in which directions regarding the content of the prayer are given, albeit brief: thanksgiving and unworthiness.

In examining the preceding five early sources we note the following:

1. All are from Syria, except the last, which is from near Syria.
2. Private communion prayers and devotions are in catechetical documents of the fourth and fifth centuries, in combination with the notion of fear and awe, which also emerges in the same period.
3. The themes that come up are consistent with the themes of the prayers in current use.
4. The moment emphasized is clearly the reception of the Eucharist.
5. There is obviously an emphasis on the reception of the body of Christ. This is not the case in the later tradition, where emphasis is placed equally on the body and blood. Could the reason for this difference lie in the practice of private communion, where the faithful would receive only the Body of Christ?³⁴ Indeed, might these private prayers have originated from private communion?

With the vast influx of new converts into the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries well-documented feelings of fear and awe toward the sacraments also arose. Although the notion reached full development in these centuries, it was present in the third:

There was a woman too who with impure hands tried to open the locket in which she was keeping Our Lord's holy body, but fire flared up from it and she was too terrified to touch it. And a man who, in spite of his sin, also presumed secretly to join the rest in receiving of the sacrifice offered by the bishop, was unable to eat or even handle Our Lord's sacred body; when he opened his hands, he found he was holding nothing but ashes. By this one example it was made manifest that Our Lord removes Himself from one who denies Him, and that what is received brings no blessing to

34 For private communion, only the *Apostolic Tradition* mentions a cup: "For blessing [the cup] in the name of God, you receive [it] as the antitype of the blood of Christ." P. Bradshaw, M. Johnson, and E. Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, 2002), 184. G. Dix and H. Chadwick, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition* (London, 1992), 58–59 and 84–85, have associated this description of private communion with the Roman Presanctified Liturgy on Holy Friday.

I have argued, however, that a stronger parallel exists between the description of private communion here and the Syrian Presanctified, where emphasis lies in the blessing of the chalice; see S. Alexopoulos, "The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2004), 23–25 and 111–26. On private communion, see R. Taft, "The Frequency of the Eucharist in Byzantine Usage: History and Practice," *Studi sull'Oriente cristiano* 4.1 (2000): 103–

32, here esp. 110–12; idem, "Changing Rhythms of Eucharistic Frequency in Byzantine Monasticism," in *Il monachesimo tra eredità e aperture: Atti del Simposio "Testi e temi nella tradizione del monachesimo cristiano" per il 500 Anniversario dell'Istituto Monastico di Sant'Anselmo*, Roma, 28 maggio–1 giugno 2002, ed. M. Bielawski and D. Hombergen, *Studia Anselmiana* 140 (Rome, 2004) 419–58, here esp. 437–45.

*the unworthy, since the Holy One has fled and the saving grace is turned to ashes.*³⁵

In this text, from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (248–258), the consequences for the unworthy approach to the sacraments are stark. Cyprian interestingly enough gives us two examples of unworthy approaches to the sacraments, one within private communion, and the other within a public celebration of the eucharist.

We may gather additional hints about the milieu in which communion prayers arose from manuscript illuminations depicting the scene of the communion of the apostles by Christ. Note in each case the posture of the body. For example, among the wonderful illuminations in the sixth-century Rossano Codex, we find the communion of the Apostles in folios 3v–4r. What interests us most is the iconography of the communion of the bread (fol. 3v).

According to a description of the illumination, the apostles' "positions convey an idea of their inner mood: they approach devoutly, bend to receive the Bread, and stand again erect with both arms upraised in the gesture of thanksgiving and praise."³⁶ It would not be a great leap to infer that the body language could be accompanied by, or even reflect, some sort of private prayer confessing unworthiness and asking forgiveness before communion, and giving thanksgiving afterward.

The Office of Holy Communion

We noted before that scrolls with private communion prayers date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Why were they not produced after the fifteenth century? The answer may lie in the development of the office of holy communion and its incorporation in the hybrid liturgical book called the *Book of Hours* (Ὡρολόγιον). The *Book of Hours* contained the Palestinian monastic office. In eighth-century Constantinople the *Book of Hours* began to fuse with the prayers and the diaconal petitions of the cathedral rite contained in the euchologion. This fusion was completed in the fourteenth century.³⁷ The current *Book of Hours* begins with the midnight office and ends with compline; a variety of offices and hymns are appended. The office of holy communion is one such appendix, indicating that it was not part of the original structure of the *Book of Hours*. This is confirmed by one of the oldest surviving *Books of Hours*, the ninth-century Sinai 863, which

35 Trans. M. Bévenot: St. Cyprian, *The Lapsed; The Unity of the Catholic Church*, Ancient Christian Writers 25 (Westminster, MD, 1957), 34.

36 G. Cavallo, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Rome, 1992), 82.

37 "Horologion," ODB 2:947; R. Taft, "I libri liturgici," in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, pt. 3, *Le culture circostanti*, vol. 1, *La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome, 2004), 229–56.

contains the office of the typika (see below, p. 174), but no office of holy communion.³⁸

Anthologies of private communion prayers were eventually incorporated into the text of the divine liturgy for the clergy communion, and, for monastics and others not in holy orders, into a private office of preparation for communion, which took shape within monasticism. The use of such an office is attested in Byzantine monastic foundation documents. In the typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis (first edition 1054–79; final form 1098–1118), is the first indication for the use of the office of communion in a monastic setting: “However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion *sing the office laid down for the partaking* (τὴν τετυπωμένην ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει ψάλλειν ἀκολουθίαν), make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements.”³⁹ Since this rubric belongs to the section of the sacramental regulations, which is considered to be part of the first edition, we may conclude that this rubric dates from 1054 to 1079.⁴⁰

The same regulation, modeled on the Evergetis typikon, is found in the typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople, dated to 1110–16: “However it is permitted that those who should partake *sing the office for the holy partaking*, make together a common genuflection to one another to grant forgiveness and then partake of the life-giving elements.”⁴¹ This is also the case for another typikon of the Evergetian tradition, that of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera, dated to 1152: “However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion *sing the office laid down for the partaking*, make a common genuflection together to one another, to grant forgiveness, and thus joyfully partake of the life-giving elements.”⁴² The same holds for the rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos (first edition after 1113, re-edited ca. 1144).⁴³

The typikon of Leo, bishop of Nauplia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God in Areia, dated to ca. 1149, indicates, “Those who are going to take communion should *sing the obligatory office at communion*, in accordance with the rule.”⁴⁴ The typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople, dated to November of 1158, follows the typikon of Evergetis closely

38 J. Mateos, “Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas: Le Codex Sinaitique grec 863 (IX siècle),” *Studi e Testi* 233 (1964): 47–76.
39 *BMFD* 2:475 (§5). For the Greek text, see Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 1:621 (n. 7 above).
All translations are from the *BMFD*, all

emphases are mine.

40 *BMFD* 2:454, 467.

41 *Ibid.*, 2:649, 653, 687 (§33).

42 *Ibid.*, 2:782, 807 (§14).

43 *Ibid.*, 3:872. For the text see §11, p. 897.

44 *Ibid.*, 3:954, 965 (§2).

in regulating that “those who should partake of communion *must to the best of their ability read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking*, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus to partake gratefully of the life-giving elements.”⁴⁵ The typikon of Nikephoros Mystikos for the Monastery of the Mother of God ton Heliou Bomon or Elegmon, dated to 1162, follows its model typikon, that of the Monastery of Mamas, word for word.⁴⁶ Finally the rule of Neilos, bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of Machairas in Cyprus, dated to 1210, following the typikon of Evergetis, regulates that: “it is permitted that those who should partake of communion *read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking*, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus joyfully partake of the life-giving elements.”⁴⁷

In the same monastic foundation documents one may see a “restrictive policy” emerging after the twelfth century regarding the frequency of the reception of the Eucharist from only once a week to perhaps three or four times a year.⁴⁸ An increasingly restrictive policy concerning the frequency of holy communion, resulting from the scruples concerning worthiness to approach the sacrament, doubtless contributed to the rise in the use of private communion prayers and to the expansion of the office of communion. The less often communion was received the more prayers were recited beforehand, since the recipient was less worthy to receive the eucharist.

The development of such an office to be recited privately and its inclusion in an official liturgical book such as the *Book of Hours* made collections of private communion prayers redundant. But the prayers contained in such collections had to go somewhere. That resulted in the growth of the office of communion (tables 1 and 3).

How would this earlier office of communion have looked? The following are some examples dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. These examples by no means exhaust the manuscript tradition. They are selected to give only a sense of the variations, changes,

45 Ibid., 3:973, 1016 (§32).

46 Ibid., 3:1042, 1073 (§32) For the Greek see Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 1:748.

47 Ibid., 3:1134 (§39).

48 R. Taft, “The Frequency of the Eucharist Throughout History” in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1997), 106; idem, “Changing Rhythms” (n. 34 above). See also two older studies, still classics and worthwhile: E. Herman, “Die häufige und tägliche Kommunion in den byzantinischen

Klöstern,” in *Mémorial Louis Petit: Mélanges d’histoire et d’archéologie byzantines*, Archives de l’Orient chrétien 1 (Bucharest, 1948) 203–17; and S. Salaville, “Messe et communion d’après les Typika monastiques byzantins du Xe au XIVe siècle,” *OCP* 13 (1947): 282–98. In all the *BMFD* it is the abbot or spiritual father who decides the frequency of participation of an individual monk. But after the twelfth century we see a decrease in the prescribed times of celebration of the Divine Liturgy and of the reception of the

Eucharist. For the pre-twelfth-century frequency see *BMFD* 2:475, 653; 3:807 (all discussed above). After the twelfth century the frequency of the celebration of the divine liturgy decreases and with it the times the monks communed. See for example *BMFD* 3:965, 1016, 1073, 1134 (all discussed above), and 1602 (Menoikeion). It is this last typikon that restricts access to communion to once a week for virtuous monks, three to four times a year to the others.

and growth of the contents of the office of holy communion. Take note especially of the organization, number, and order of the communion prayers. For a synthetic presentation of these and other examples, set alongside printed horologia, see the appendix.

THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY SCROLL BYZANTINE MUSEUM 127. This scroll, whose beginning and end are missing, is the earliest example of a scroll with prayers of communion and prayers in times of temptations that I was able to examine. In this case, the three prayers in times of temptation precede the seventeen prayers of communion. Of the former set, only six lines of the first prayer survive, from which we can infer only that the prayer talked about repentance, and that it was addressed to Christ.

....τῶν μετανοούντων. Καὶ σὺ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρί· καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ (lines 1–6)

Rubric: Εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν [] καὶ ἐπειραζόντων (line 7)

Prayer: Κύριε εὐσπλαγχνε, μακρόθυμε, ἀνεξίκακε, ἀναμάρτητε... (lines 8–39)

Rubric: Ἐτέρα εὐχὴ τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς ἐξομολογήσεως (lines 39–40)

Prayer: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων... (lines 41–114)

Then, the prayers of communion follow. Before communion:

Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς... (= 1.1)

Δέσποτα, ἅγιε, ἄχραντε, ἀμόλυντε, ὁ μὴ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς... (= 1.16)

Κύριε οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος οὐδὲ ἱκανὸς... (= 1.3)

Παρθένε Δέσποινα· ἡ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσασα... (= 1.20)

Οὐκ ἐσμέν ἱκανοὶ δέσποτα κύριε· ἵνα εἰσέλθῃς ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην... (= 1.4)

Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ... (= 2.2)

Δέσποτα κύριε φιλάνθρωπε· Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς μου· μὴ εἰς κρίμα... (= 2.6)

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς μου· ἄνες· ἄφες· ἰλάσθητι... (= 1.5).

Rubric: Πρὸ τοῦ μετασχεῖν τῆς φρικώδους θυσίας / τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος τοῦ Δεσπότη / τῷδε πρόσευξαι τῷ τρόπῳ μετὰ τρόμου (= rubric 1.4; note that this rubric, which usually introduces the prayers before communion, here follows the prayers)

At communion:

Rubric: Καὶ ὅτε ἀπέρχει μεταλαβεῖν λέγε οὕτως (= rubric 2.1)

Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε κύριε μὴ εἰς κρίμα... (= 2.6)

Θεουργὸν αἷμα φρίξον ἄνθρωπε...φλέγον. (= 2.3 first half)

Ἐθέλξας πόθῳ με Χριστὲ καὶ ἡλλοίωσας... (= 2.4)
 Θεοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ θεοὶ (*sic*)...τρέφει ξένως... (= 2.3 second half)
 Τὰς ἀνομίας μου πάριδε κύριε... (= 2.9)
 Ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι... (= 2.5)
 Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ... (= 2.2)
 Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολληῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ... (= 2.6 second part)
 Ψυχὴ προσελθεῖν καιρὸς ἐν μυστηρίοις... (= 2.10)

The remainder of the scroll is missing.

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY SCROLL TAPHOU 521. This manuscript is important because it is of the same type (scroll), genre (communion prayers), and period (twelfth century) as the Endicott Scroll. Its beginning is missing.

Introductory prayers:

Ps 21 (starting from verse 13b) / Ps 22 / Ps 23 / Τρισάγιον / Πάτερ ἡμῶν / Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε / Δόξα...πάλιν τὸ αὐτό / Καὶ νῦν...Τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας τὴν πύλην / Κύριε ἐλέησον (45x) / Μετάνοιαι
 Καὶ εὐθύς τὰς εὐχάς

Before communion:

Rubric: Πρὸ τοῦ μετασχεῖν / τῆς φρικώδους θυσίας / τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος τοῦ Δεσπότου / τῷδε πρόσευξαι τῷ τρόπῳ μετὰ τρόμου (= rubric 2.4)
 Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς... (= 1.1)
 Κύριε οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος οὐδὲ ἰκανός, ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου... (= 1.3)
 Ὁ Θεός· ἄνεξ· ἄφεξ· συγχώρησόν μοι τὰ πλημμελήματά μου... (= 1.12)

At communion:

Rubric: Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέρχ(η) μεταλαβεῖν λέγε οὕτως (= rubric 2.1)
 Ἰδοῦ βαδίζω πρὸς Θ(εο)ῦ κοινωνίαν... (= 2.1)
 Δέσποτα φιλόανθρωπε, μὴ εἰς κρίμα μοι γένοιτο... (= 2.6)

After communion:

Rubric: Ταῦτ[α δὲ τ]υχῶν / τῆς καλῆς μετουσίας / τῶν ζωοποιῶν ἁγίων καὶ τιμίων / δουλοπρεπῶς / ὑμνησον αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγε (= rubric 3.5, missing line 3)⁴⁹
 Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσω... (= 3.1)
 Εὐχαριστῶ σοι φιλόανθρωπε ὅτι διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σου ἀγαθότητα... (= 3.6)
 Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός μου τὸ ἄστεκτον καὶ ἀόρατον πῦρ... (= 3.8)
 Τὸ σῶμα σου (*sic*) τὸ ἅγιον κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός μου... (= 3.4)
 Τοῦ ἀρχάντου σώματος· καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματός σου... (= 3.7)

⁴⁹ Cf. the received text of this poetical rubric: Ἐπὶ δὲ τύχῃς τῆς καλῆς μετουσίας / Τῶν ζωοποιῶν μυστικῶν δωρημάτων, / Ὑμνησον εὐθύς, εὐχαρίστησον μέγα. / Καὶ τότε θερμῶς ἐκ ψυχῆς Θεῷ λέγε· / Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HOROLOGION SINAI GR. 870, FOLS. 64R–84R. The office of communion is placed between the office of the typika (fols. 60v–63v) and the ninth hour (84vff.). It is also divided into three sections: before communion, while going to receive communion, and after communion.

Introductory prayers:

Ύμνοι πρὸ τῆς Θείας Μεταλήψεως (title of office)

Ps 21 / Ps 22 / Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε... / Τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας... / Κύριε ἐλέησον (40×)

Before communion:

Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς... (= 1.1)

At communion:

Rubric: Ὅταν δὲ ἀπέρχῃ τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν λέγε καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην (= rubric 2.2)

Δέσποτα φιλόνηρωπε μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα... (= 2.6)

After communion:

Rubric: Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν θεῖαν μετάληψιν (= rubric 3.3)

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσω... (= 3.1)

In this source three things stand out. First, this office of communion is found within the monastic book the *Book of Hours*. Second, the office of holy communion presented here is very brief: two psalms, two troparia, forty “Lord have mercies,” and a prayer for each of the three parts of the office. Finally, as we noted above, the office of holy communion follows the typika and precedes the office of the ninth hour, a position that might imply a strong connection between the typika (still operative in this manuscript?) and the office of holy communion (see below).

TYPIKON CODEX 309 OF THE JERUSALEM PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.⁵⁰ The outline of the office of holy communion as it appears here is as follows:

Introductory prayers:

Ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως

Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε / Τρισάγιον / Παναγία Τριάς / Πάτερ ἡμῶν / Κύριε ἐλέησον (12×) / Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν (3×) / Ἐλέησόν με ὁ Θεός / Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν

50 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3:202–3 (n. 7 above).

Before communion:

Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ (= 2.2)

Κύριε ἐλέησον (40×) / Μετάνοιαι (15×)

Δέσποτα Κύριε, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ... (= 1.1)

Κύριε, οἶδα, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἅγιος... (= 1.3)

At communion:

Rubric: Ἀπερχόμενος δὲ μεταλαβεῖν λέγε οὕτω: (= rubric 2.3)

Δέσποτα Φιλάνθρωπε, μὴ εἰς κρίμά μοι γένοιτο τὰ ἅγια ταῦτα... (= 2.6)

After communion:

Rubric: Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν μετάληψιν: (= rubric 3.3, variation)

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ Θεοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσω με... (= 3.1)

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, φιλάνθρωπε, ὅτι διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σου ἀγαθότητα... (= 3.6)

Τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματός σου μυστικῶς ἁξιωθεὶς γενέσθαι συμμέτοχος... (= 3.7)

Κύριε ἐλέησον (3×)

Δι' εὐχῶν...

We see here, as in our examples above, a structure similar to both the Endicott Scroll and the current office of communion: prayers before partaking of the eucharist, prayers while going to partake, and prayers after partaking of the eucharist. This office has three prayers for the first section, one for the middle, and three for the third section. Of the seven prayers here present, four (the third, fourth, sixth, and seventh) are shared with the Endicott Scroll, and the first five are shared with the current office of communion. The third and fourth prayers (1.3, 2.6) are common to all three.

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SCROLL ANN ARBOR 84. A characteristic of the office of communion in this scroll is that it does not contain any of the introductory prayers found in Taphou 521, Sinai gr. 870, and typikon codex 309 of the Jerusalem Patriarchal Library above.

Before communion:

Δέσποτα πολυέλεε Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς... (= 1.1)

Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, σὺ δίδαξόν με... (= 1.14)

Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξουσίαν... (= 1.6)

Οἶδα Κύριε ὅτι ἀναξίως μεταλαμβάνω... (= 1.2)

Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἅγιος οὐδὲ ἱκανός... (= 1.3)

Ὁ Θεός, ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησόν μοι... (= 1.12)

Ὁ μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρατος... (= 1.8)

Βοηθός μου γενοῦ Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, Χριστέ... (= 1.15)

Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ... (= 1.10)

Δέσποτα ἄγιε ἄχραντε... (= 1.16)

At communion:

Rubric: Ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι μεταλαβεῖν (= rubric 2.5)

Ἴδου βαδίζω πρὸς Θεοῦ κοινωνίαν... (= 2.1)

Μή μοι Δέσποτα φιλόνηθρε... καὶ βασιλείας (only half the prayer; = 2.6 part 1)

Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ... (= 1.10)

Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ προσκολλᾶσθαι τῷ Θεῷ... (= 2.6 part 2)

Θεουργὸν αἷμα... (= 2.3)

After communion:

Rubric: Ἐπὶ δὲ τύχῃς τῆς καλῆς μετουσίας / τῶν ζωοποιῶν... (= rubric 3.6)

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσω... (= 3.1)

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, εὐχαριστῶ σοι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ... (= 3.9)

Ὁ δὸς τροφὴν μοι σάρκα σὴν ἐκουσίως... (= 3.3)

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός μου, τὸ ἄστεκτον καὶ ἀόρατον πῦρ... (= 3.8)

Τετρωμένος καρδίαν εἰμι ἐγώ... (= 3.10)

Τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος... (= 3.7)

From these five examples of manuscripts it is evident that, although every office of communion shares the same structure (prayers before, during, and after communion), there is considerable variation in the number and identity of prayers (different prayers used in different manuscripts) in each part of the office.

The Office of the Typika

The only other context in which private prayers of communion appear is the office of the typika, originally a presanctified communion office of Palestinian origin. According to Robert Taft, two manuscripts indicate that the typika contained therein were still used as a presanctified communion office.⁵¹ They are the horologion (*Book of Hours*) Sinai gr. 863 of the ninth century and the horologion appended to the psalter of Harvard University Houghton Library MS Greek 3 (1105).⁵² The former provides two prayers of thanksgiving: one is private, since it is

51 I have also suggested that the office of the typika in the thirteenth-century horologion Sinai gr. 870, fols. 61v–63v might be added to this list. See Alexopoulos, “Presanctified Liturgy,” 93–105 (n. 34 above). Another document in which the office of the

typika appears as still operative is the horologion Sinai georg. 34, dated 962–65. See S. R. Frøyshov, “L’Horologe Géorgien du Sinaiticus Ibericus 34,” (PhD diss., Paris, 2003), 33–47 (text and French translation), 216 (dating), and 473–76 (commentary).

52 Mateos, “Horologion inédit,” 47–76; see fols. 75r–77v. Taft, “Rites II,” 301–2 (n. 4 above); for the office of typika see fols. 247v–248v.

in the first person singular, and another seems to be communal since it is written in the first person plural:

Εὐχή μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν

Μετέλαβον τὸ σῶμά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ αἷμά σου τὸ τίμιον, εἰς ἄφεσιν πάντων ὧν ἡμαρτόν σοι, μόνε φιλάνθρωπε.

Πλήρωσον τὸ στόμα μου αἰνέσεως, Κύριε, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑπάρχεις ἡ ὑμνησίς μου, καὶ σῶσόν με.

Εὐχή μεταλήψεως

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἡξίωσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου μυστηρίων ἐπὶ ἀφέσει καὶ ἰλασμῶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν· ἀξίωσον ἡμᾶς τυχεῖν τοῦ ἐλέους σου μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.⁵³

In the Harvard psalter a provision in the rubrics allows the recitation of prayers, some of which are given separately in a collection of prayers in fols. 249v–251v.⁵⁴ How did these private prayers enter into the typika? I hypothesize that since the typika contain a monastic communion from presanctified gifts, possibly having its origins in ascetic self-communion, private communion prayers were always part of this office.⁵⁵ The limited number of private communion prayers in the typika may be explained by the fact that the typika ceased to exist as a presanctified office before the multiplication of the communion prayers.

Conclusions

Prayers 1–10 of the Endicott Scroll are private communion prayers, part of the office that is today the office of holy communion. The history of private communion prayers can be summarized as follows. First, the origins of private communion prayers lie in the catechetical instruction of the late fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries. In the same centuries feelings of fear and awe toward the eucharist arose and communicants decreased. The prayers might also have originated in the practice of self-communion, from which they found their way into the office of the typika. Second, these private communion prayers eventually became part of nonliturgical collections. An example of such a collection is the Endicott Scroll. Two parallel developments followed. On the one hand, as Robert Taft has shown, the private communion prayers entered into the Byzantine euchological tradition apart from eucharistic formularies, and finally they entered the eucharistic formulary itself.⁵⁶ On the other hand, many private communion prayers found their way into the still-developing office of holy communion used among monastics. As this office grew and was incorporated into the *Book of Hours*, nonliturgical collections of private

⁵³ Mateos, “Horologion inédit,” 55.

⁵⁴ Taft, “Rites II,” 301.

⁵⁵ On ascetic self-communion, see Taft, “Changing Rhythms,” 439–45, 451 (n. 34 above).

⁵⁶ Taft, “Rites II,” 300–312, 342.

According to Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (New York, 1982), 104, in the Western rites the “earliest evidence for private prayers at the communion rite appears in the ninth century.”

communion prayers, such as the Endicott Scroll, became redundant and ceased to be produced.

Prayers in Times of Temptations (Prayers 11–12)

We first have to distinguish between private penitential prayers, such as prayers 11 and 12 in the Endicott Scroll, and the prayers in the euchologion that are associated with the sacrament of confession and are read by a priest or bishop over a person or persons.⁵⁷ The last two prayers of the Endicott Scroll are private penitential prayers to be used in times of temptation, as the title of prayer 11 indicates (lines 207–8).

Prayer 11, Πάνυ ὑπεσκελίσθην ὁ τάλας τὸν νοῦν..., is attributed in our manuscript to St. Basil the Great. It is a well-known prayer used to battle impure sexual thoughts. I have found this prayer in three different contexts. In the first case, it is used in the context of the private Εὐχή εἰς πόλεμον πορνείας, “prayer when battling the temptation of fornication.” After the usual introductory prayers, Psalm 50 (LXX) and three hymns, our prayer follows, as seen in the following outline:

Εὐχή εἰς πόλεμον πορνείας
Τρισάγιον
Παναγία Τριάς
Πάτερ ἡμῶν
Κύριε ἐλέησον (3×)
Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν (3×)
Ψαλμὸς ν'
Ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς...
Βεβαρημένος τῷ ὕπνῳ...
Τῇ ἀγλῷ τῶν παθῶν...
Δόξα... Καὶ νῦν...
Παναγία Θεοτόκε...
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40×)
Πάλιν ὑπεσκελίσθην ὁ τάλας τὸν νοῦν...⁵⁸

Prayer 11 is found within the same thematic unity but in a different context and with a different title in the current Ἱερατικόν of the Church of Greece, within the office Εἰς ἱερέα ἐνυπνιασθέντα.⁵⁹ The prayer is

⁵⁷ See, for example, the works referred to in R. Taft, “Penance in Contemporary Scholarship” in *Studia Liturgica* 18 (1988): 2–21; M. Arranz, “Les prières pénitentielles de la tradition byzantine,” *OCP* 57 (1991): 87–143, 309–29; 58 (1992): 23–82; idem, “Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition

byzantine,” *OCP* 58 (1992): 423–59; 59 (1993): 63–89, 357–86.

⁵⁸ Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 2:473 (n. 7 above).

⁵⁹ *Ἱερατικόν* (1995), 291–94. Our prayer is on 293–94.

attributed to St. Basil the Great, but its rubric also gives us an alternate attribution, to St. Martinianos.⁶⁰

Finally, prayer 11 appears within the liturgy of the hours of the unique Εικοσιτετράωρον Ὡρολόγιον of the Ἀκοίμητοι, the sleepless monks of Constantinople. This *Book of Twenty-four Hours* is made up of twenty-four offices of hours, one for each hour of the day. The Greek liturgist Ioannes Phountoules has reconstructed this Εικοσιτετράωρον Ὡρολόγιον from three manuscripts of the eleventh to twelfth century.⁶¹ Our prayer is the final prayer in the third hour of the night office.⁶²

Prayer 12, Φιλάνθρωπε δέσποτα καὶ δημιουργέ..., is of the same genre but is not well known. This prayer does not carry an attribution in our manuscript. I have not been able to locate a printed version of this prayer, but I have found two examples in the manuscript tradition, in both cases attributed to St. Basil the Great:

1. Sinai gr. 712, dated to 1482. This Ἀκολουθία manuscript contains a series of private penitential prayers, among which are both of our prayers: prayer 11 on folios 60r–61v and prayer 12 on folios 64v–65v. Significantly, these penitential prayers follow the office of communion (folios 171–38v), an order identical to our manuscript's.

2. Fifteenth-century Stavrou gr. 86. This Ἀκολουθία manuscript also contains a series of penitential prayers, among which are both our prayers: prayer 11 on folios 9v–10v, and prayer 12 on folios 36r–37v.

Based on these two manuscripts we can complete the missing portion of prayer 12 in our scroll:⁶³

[line 326] τούτοις σὲ τὸν εὐδιάλλακτον δυσωπῆσαι πιστεύω. μὴ οὖν μνησθῆς,
ἀμνησίκακε, τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσμήξας
πάντα τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια πταίσματά μου καὶ ὅσα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ
ἀμελείᾳ ἢ λήθῃ ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἐπλημμέλησα, διὰ μετανοίας καὶ δακρύων
5 ῥοῆς κεκαθαρμένον με τῷ φρικτῷ σου παράστησον βήματι. ναὶ ὁ Θεὸς
τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐπάκουσον τῆς εὐτελοῦς μου ταύτης δεήσεως· καὶ
τὰς ἱεράς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προσδεξάμενος ἰκεσίας, μὴ βδελύξῃ με τὸν
ἐναγῇ καὶ παμβέβηλον· μὴ δὲ ἀνέτοιμον ἄρης με τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ
ἄκαρπον· μὴ δὲ πόρρω με τοῦ σοῦ ἀπορρήτης προσώπου· ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ
10 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

60 It is found in the same context in the Ἀκολουθία manuscript Sinai gr. 959 dated to 1522, fols. 181r–183r; Goar, *Euchologium Sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960), 703.

61 Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς, vol. 1, Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νυχθημέρου (Thessalonike, 1994). The

manuscripts used are Paris gr. 331 (11th c.), Leimon 295 (12th c.), and National Library of Greece 15 (12th c.); see p. 331. See also idem, *Ἡ Εικοσιτετράωρος Ἀκοίμητος Δοξολογία* (Athens, 1963).

62 Phountoules, *Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς*, 385–87.

63 In this text, orthography has been normalized.

2 μνησθείς Sin. Stav. τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνομιῶν Sin. 3 καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια om. Sin. ἀγνεῖα Sin. 5 καὶ καθαρμένον Sin. με om. Stav. 6 ἡμῶν] μου Stav. 7 τὰς... ἰκεσίας om. Stav. 8 ἐνταῦθα] ἐνθένδε Stav. 9–10 post προσώπου ad finem Stav. add. ἄλλ' ἐν μετανοίᾳ με καθάρας οἰκτείρησον, καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου καταξίωσον στάσεως, πρεσβείαις τῆς ἀσπόρως τεκούσης σε Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἀμήν.

Our two prayers appear in the manuscript tradition as part of larger collections of private prayers, such as Stavrou 86 of the fifteenth century, fols. 9r–44r. A total of thirty-six prayers (with the addition of at least three more in the margins), including our two prayers, are placed under the title “Εὐχαὶ διάφοραι ψυχωφελεῖς,” or “Various prayers profitable for the soul.” Another example is Sinai 712 (dated 1482). In this case the series of penitential prayers (38v–93r), among them our two prayers, follows the office of holy communion (17r–38r). We have evidence in the manuscript tradition that private prayers of communion were placed among other private devotional prayers.⁶⁴ So the inclusion of these two genres of prayers in the Endicott Scroll should not surprise us. The eleventh-century scroll Byzantine Museum 127 is an early witness of the coexistence of penitential and communion prayers.⁶⁵ The difference between this scroll and the Endicott Scroll is the placement of the penitential prayers relative to those of communion. In the former, the penitential prayers precede those of communion, while in the latter they follow.

Both the private communion prayers and the private penitential prayers are devotional and acknowledge one's sinfulness and ask for the mercy and forgiveness of God. But the former explicitly refer to communion, while the latter do not, and instead place greater emphasis on the penitential aspect.

Who Was the Original Owner of the Endicott Scroll?

Can we draw a sketch of the original owner of the Endicott Scroll? There are several factors we have to take into account:⁶⁶

1. Parchment was in short supply and expensive.
2. Books were a commodity “beyond the reach of the ordinary.”
3. Clergy (including monastics) were the “most numerous profession” in Byzantium.

⁶⁴ Taft, “Rites II,” 301–2 (n. 4 above).

⁶⁵ Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5, *The Precommunion Rites*, OCA 261 (Rome, 2000), has shown the relation between the introduction of the Our Father into the precommunion rites and the penitential aspect of the precommunion:

“The Our Father in the precommunion ritual is a prayer for forgiveness of sin and mutual reconciliation before approaching the altar of God for communion, lest we do so unto our own damnation. This, at least, is beyond any doubt the main thrust of the early Fathers' comments on the Lord's Prayer

before communion from Cyprian and Tertullian on” (149).

⁶⁶ For factors 1–3 see N. Wilson, “Books and Readers in Byzantium,” in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, DC, 1975), 2–4.

4. The contents of the Endicott Scroll are for private religious devotion.
5. The Endicott Scroll is small.

Also consider the colophon of a euchologion copied for private use, the Strategios euchology, Paris Coislin 213 (1027 CE):

*This euchology book was written and finished in the month of August, the tenth Indiction, in 6535 [= 1027 CE], and was acquired by Strategios, presbyter of the Great Church and of its patriarchal chapels. It contains every service and order exactly as indicated in the Table of Contents at the beginning, except for the Liturgies of St. Basil and of Chrysostom, of the Terce-sext, and of the Presanctified, according to the wish of the purchaser and owner, because those things are found in the liturgical scrolls with which one celebrates, and in another book he has the prayers of the antiphons of the Psalter as in the psalmody of the Great Church, to the number of seventy-four, and the eight prayers of the Odes, and various other prayers recited at different times, before going to bed, after rising, for communion, for confession, unto the good of the soul and for compunction, and the rest, fifty-four in all, and a selection of diverse texts on the Holy Trinity. These things, then, are not written here.*⁶⁷

We see here that prayers “for communion, for confession, unto the good of the soul and for compunction,” in other words, prayers of the same genre as the prayers of the Endicott Scroll, were part of a collection of private devotional texts owned by a clergyman.

Taking into account all the above, we can conclude that the Endicott Scroll belonged to a monastic, possibly a cleric, who was associated with either a church or a monastery. The small size of the Endicott Scroll and its spartan yet elegant appearance suggest that it was not part of the library of a church or monastery but was privately owned and used for private devotion when preparing for communion and when subject to temptation.

—Church of Greece, Archdiocese of Athens
—Harvard Divinity School

⁶⁷ Emphasis added. Trans. Taft, “Rites II,”

301. For the Greek see Duncan, *Coislin* 213:

Euchologe de la Grande Église, *Dissertatio ad Lauream* (Rome, 1983), vii.

Appendix: The Sequence and Structure of Byzantine Communion Prayers and Rubrics

As argued above, the Endicott Scroll preserves early sequences and assignments of the private prayers used before, during, and after communion. In the following appendix, the Endicott Scroll's prayers are compared with other early witnesses. Our main purpose is to show the complexity of the manuscript tradition, and to situate the Endicott Scroll in that tradition. This comparative material, however, is also intended to serve as a basis for future research on the shape and order of private communion prayers.

From the manuscript tradition we have selected for comparison six scrolls (including the Endicott Scroll), five horologia, and one typikon. Although not exhaustive the manuscript list contains the key witnesses to the types and sequences of communion prayers. We have also treated the earliest printed horologia and akolouthia, the basis for the current office of communion. This list of printed books is representative for the period they cover. Please see the table on p. 181 for a list of all the manuscripts and books discussed. The manuscripts are listed below.

The Sequence and Structure of Communion Prayers

There are twenty prayers before communion, ten during, and eleven after. The list is not exhaustive; it consists only of the prayers found in the various early witnesses we have chosen. They are numbered, first according to their sequence in the current office, and then, if they do not appear in the current office, somewhat arbitrarily, according to their appearance in individual manuscripts. All ascriptions (listed below in parentheses), as well as the Greek text we reproduce, are based upon the majority witness.

Prayers before Communion

- 1.1. Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας (Basil).
- 1.2. Οἶδα Κύριε, ὅτι ἀναξίως μεταλαμβάνω τοῦ ἀχράντου σου Σώματος (Basil).
- 1.3. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς μου, οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος, οὐδὲ ἱκανός, ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην τοῦ οἴκου τῆς ψυχῆς μου, διότι ὅλη ἔρημος (Chrysostom).
- 1.4. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανός, Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἵνα εἰσέλθῃς ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην τῆς ψυχῆς μου, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ βούλει σοι (Chrysostom).
- 1.5. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός μου, ἄνες, ἄφες, ἰλάσθητι, καὶ συγχώρησόν μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ (Chrysostom).
- 1.6. Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἀνθρώποις ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας (John of Damascus).
- 1.7. Ἀπὸ ρυπαρῶν χειλέων, ἀπὸ βδελυρᾶς καρδίας (Symeon the New Theologian).

Manuscript List (alphabetized)

- HR Harvard Horologion Harvard
Houghton gr. 3, dated to 1105,
fols. 249v–251v
- HR sabas Horologion Sabas 350, dated
to 1623, fols. 96r–128r
- HR Sinai 712 Horologion Sinai gr. 712,
dated to 1482, fols. 17r–38v
- HR Sinai 728 Horologion Sinai gr. 728,
dated to 1375, fols. 121v–140v
- HR Sinai 870 Horologion Sinai gr. 870,
fols. 64r–84r
- S Ann Arbor Ann Arbor 84 (scroll)
- S BM Byzantine Museum of Athens 127
(scroll)
- S Endicott Endicott Scroll
- S Iviron 11 Iviron 11 (scroll)
- S Iviron 13 Iviron 13 (scroll)
- S Taphou Taphou 521 (scroll)
- T JPL Typikon Jerusalem Patriarchal
Library 309 (DIII: 202–3)

Table 6. Manuscript and Books Discussed

	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.10	1.11	1.12	1.13	1.14	1.15	1.16	1.17	1.18	1.19	1.20	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.10	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.10	3.11		
SBM (11th c.)	•	—	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S Taphou (12th c.)	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	
HR Harvard (12th c.)	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S Endicott (12/13th c.)	—	•	•	—	—	•	—	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	
HR Sinai 870 (13th c.)	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S Iviron 13 (13th c.)	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	•	—	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	
T JPL (14th c.)	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S Iviron 11 (14th c.)	•	•	•	•	—	•	—	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	—	—	•	•	
S Ann Arbor (14th c.)	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	•	—	•	—	•	—	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	•	—	—	•	—	—
HR Sinai 728 (1375)	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	•	—	•	•	•	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	—	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR Sinai 712 (1482)	•	•	—	—	—	•	•	•	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	—	—	•	•	•	•
HR Sabas (1623)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1520	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1523	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1535	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1575	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1580	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1632	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1744	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1769	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HR 1787	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AM 1817	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AM 1864E	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AM 1864Z	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AM 1871	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

- 1.8. Ο μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρατος Κύριος, ὁ δι' οἶκτον φιλανθρωπίας (Symeon Metaphrastes).
- 1.9. Πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Ναοῦ σου παρέστηκα, καὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμῶν (John of Damascus).
- 1.10. Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ὁμολογῶ (Chrysostom).
- 1.11. Ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ σου καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτου παρεστηκῶς βήματι (Symeon Metaphrastes).
- 1.12. Ὁ Θεὸς ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησόν μοι τὰ πλημμελήματά μου (Chrysostom).
- 1.13. Θεέ μου, γλυκύτατε, Κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Ἰὲ καὶ Λόγε τοῦ αἰωνίου Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός... (in modern Greek).
- 1.14. Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, σὺ δίδαξόν με εὐχαριστεῖν σοι ἀξίως... (Basil).
- 1.15. Βοηθός μου γενοῦ Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων Χριστέ... (Symeon Metaphrastes).
- 1.16. Δέσποτα ἅγιε· ἄχραντε· ἀμόλυντε· ὁ μὴ ἀπαξιώσας...
- 1.17. Φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός μου· εἰς τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου θαρρῶν, ἱκετεύω σε...
- 1.18. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· υἱὲ καὶ λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος· ποιμὴν ὑπάρχων...
- 1.19. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, ὃ λατρεύουσι πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπερκόσμιοι τῶν οὐρανῶν...
- 1.20. Παρθένε Δέσποινα· ἢ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσασα, οἶδα μὲν, οἶδα ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὐπρεπὲς οὐδὲ εὐλογον... (Mary of Egypt).

Prayers at Communion

This lists prayers within the office of communion per se, not prayers that are found within the communion ritual of the divine liturgy (although often they are the exact same prayers). *Taft* refers to the numeration used by Robert Taft in "Rites II," 285–96 (n. 4 above); *IH* refers to Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum* (n. 8 above).

- 2.1. Ἰδοῦ, βαδίζω... (Taft 3, IH 1:168; Symeon Metaphrastes).
- 2.2. Τοῦ Δείπνου σου... (Taft 4, IH 4:267).
- 2.3. Θεουργὸν Αἷμα... (Taft 7, IH 2:131).
- 2.4. Ἐθελξας πόθῳ με Χριστέ... (Taft 8, IH 1:356).
- 2.5. Ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι... (Taft 9, IH 1:461).
- 2.6. Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε... (Taft 10).
- 2.7. Εἶδες ἄνθρωπε τῶν σπλάγχων ἔνδον οὐ κατεκαύθης...
- 2.8. ὦ Κύριε, ζῶν εὐχαριστῶ σοι τρέμων...
- 2.9. Τὰς ἀνομίας μου πάριδε Κύριε... (IH 4:23).
- 2.10. Ψυχὴ προσελθεῖν καιρὸς ἐν μυστηρίοις...

Prayers after Communion

- 3.1. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσω με τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν,

- ἀλλὰ κοινωνόν με γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου... (Anonymous).
- 3.2. Δέσποτα Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός... (Basil the Great).
- 3.3. Ὁ δοὺς τροφήν μοι... (Symeon the Metaphrastes).
- 3.4. Τὸ σῶμά σου τὸ ἅγιον... (Anonymous).
- 3.5. Παναγία Δέσποινα, Θεοτόκε... (Anonymous).
- 3.6. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι φιλόανθρωπε· ὅτι διὰ τὴν πολλήν σου ἀγαθότητα ἡνέσχου κοινωνόν με γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος...
- 3.7. Τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματός σου καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος μυστικῶς ἀξιώθεις... (Taft 22).
- 3.8. Ὁ Θεός ὁ Θεός μου τὸ ἄσπεκτον καὶ ἀόρατον πῦρ...
- 3.9. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ...
- 3.10. Τετρωμένος καρδίαν εἰμὶ ἐγὼ· ἐξέτηξέ με ὁ ζῆλος σου...
- 3.11. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα, ὅτι καταξιώσας με...

Sequence of Communion Prayers

Below is a detailed list of the sequences given for the above forty-one prayers, according to their appearance in early manuscripts (from oldest to most recent) and in the earliest printed horologia and Ἀκολουθία τῆς Θείας Μεταλήψεως (again, from oldest to most recent). Table 6 presents graphically the same information, but without indicating the sequence of the prayers. For abbreviations of manuscripts and books, see the list on p. 180.

S BM (11th c.)

Before communion: 1.1 (lines 116–201), 1.16 (lines 203–85), 1.3 (lines 287–358), 1.20 (lines 359–86), 1.4 (lines 388–412; prayer in plural), 2.2 (lines 413–14, followed by the 3-line rubric καὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἀπὸ τριῶν μετανοιῶν εἰς τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας· τοῦ Δεσπότη Χριστοῦ· καὶ εἰς τὴν Δέσποιναν ἡμῶν Θεοτόκον); 2.6 (lines 419–23), 1.5 (lines 426–57)

At communion: 2.6 (lines 463–66; 2nd time), 2.3 (lines 467–68; 1st half), 2.4 (lines 469–74), 2.3 (lines 475–76; 2nd half), 2.9 (lines 477–82), 2.5 (lines 483–91), 2.2 (lines 492–98; 2nd time), 2.6 (line 499; incipit), 2.10 (lines 501–8)

After communion: missing

S Taphou (12th c.)

Before communion: 1.1 (lines 245–422), 1.3 (lines 425–588; Chrysostom is called Χρυσόχειλον), 1.12 (lines 590–633)

At communion: 2.1 (lines 636–43), 2.6 (lines 644–50)

After communion: 3.1 (lines 659–744), 3.6 (lines 747–99; ascribed to Chrysostom), 3.8 (lines 801–39; ascription erased), 3.4 (line 842–73), 3.7 (lines 874–87)

HR Harvard (1105)

Before communion: 1.3 (fols. 249v–250v), 1.12 (fols. 250v–251v)

At communion: —

After communion: 3.6 (fol. 251r–v), 3.4 (fol. 251v)

S Endicott (12/13th c.)

Before communion: 1.3 (lines 1–9; end only), 1.6 (lines 12–34), 1.8 (lines 36–84), 1.2 (lines 86–122; ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes), 1.10 (lines 124–37; ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes)

At communion: 2.1 (lines 140–43), 2.6 (lines 144–49)

After communion: 3.6 (lines 152–82), 3.4 (lines 184–95), 3.7 (lines 196–206)

HR Sinai 870 (13th c.)

Before communion: 1.1 (fols. 70v–77v)

At communion: 2.6 (fol. 77v)

After communion: 3.1 (fols. 77v–84r)

S Iviron 13 (13th c.); follows inexact sequence of P. Soteroudes, *Κατάλογος Ελληνικῶν Χειρογράφων* (Iveron Monastery, Mount Athos, 1998–),

1:20

Before communion: 1.1, 1.3, 1.8, 1.6, 1.10, 1.2, 1.11, 1.15, 1.12

At communion: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6

After communion: 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 3.4?

T JPL (14th c.); follows sequence of Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3:202–3

Before communion: 2.2, 1.1, 1.3

At communion: 2.6

After communion: 3.1, 3.6, 3.7

S Iviron 11 (14th c.); follows inexact sequence of Soteroudes, *Κατάλογος*,

1:18

Before communion: 1.1, 1.3, 1.8, 1.2, 1.10, 1.4, 1.6, 1.11, 1.16, 1.19, 1.15

At communion: 2.2, 2.3

After communion: 3.2, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 3.4?, 3.11, 3.10, 3.8

S Ann Arbor (14th c.)

Before communion: 1.1 (lines 3–101), 1.14 (lines 103–37), 1.6 (lines 139–55; ascribed to Basil), 1.2 (lines 157–92), 1.3 (lines 195–256), 1.12 (lines 258–80), 1.8 (lines 282–326), 1.15 (lines 328–47), 1.10 (lines 349–61), 1.16 (lines 363–435; ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes)

At communion: 2.1 (lines 437–40), 2.6 (lines 441–45; 1st part), 1.10 (lines 447–58; 2nd time), 2.6 (lines 459–62; 2nd part), 2.3 (lines 464–67; ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes)

After communion: 3.1 (lines 475–519 ascribed to Chrysostom), 3.9 (lines 521–63; ascribed to Chrysostom), 3.3 (lines 566–94), 3.8 (lines 596–626; ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes), 3.10 (lines 627–47; ascribed to John of Damascus), 3.7 (lines 649–73)

HR Sinai 728 (1375)

Before communion: 1.1 (fols. 124v–126v), 1.3 (fols. 126v–127v), 1.11 (fols. 127v–130r), 1.8 (fol. 130r–v), 1.6 (fols. 130v–131r), 1.10 (fol. 131r–v), 1.7 (fols. 131v–133v), 1.2 (fols. 133v–134r), 1.15 (fol. 134r–v; ascribed to Chrysostom), 1.12 (fols. 134v–135r)

At communion: 2.6, 2.3 (ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes), 2.1 (all three fol. 135r), 2.2, 2.7, 2.8 (all three fol. 135v)

After communion: 3.6 (fol. 136v), 3.1 (fols. 137r–138r), 3.7, 3.4 (both fol. 138r)

HR Sinai 712 (1482)

Before communion: 1.1 (fols. 20v–21v), 1.16 (fols. 21v–24r; ascribed to Basil), 1.3 (fols. 24r–25v), 1.17 (fols. 25v–26v), 1.7 (fols. 26v–28v), 1.8 (fols. 28v–30r), 1.18 (fols. 30r–32r), 1.12 (fol. 32r–v), 1.6 (fols. 32v–33r; ascribed to Chrysostom), 3.10 (fol. 33r–v), 1.2 (fols. 33v–34v), 1.10 (fol. 34v)

At communion: 2.3 (ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes), 2.2, 2.6 (all three fol. 35r)

After communion: 3.9 (fol. 36v; ascribed to Chrysostom), 3.11 (fol. 37r), 3.4, 3.7 (both fol. 37v), 3.5 (fol. 38r)

HR Sabas (1623)

Before communion: 1.1 (fols. 105r–107v), 1.3 (fols. 107v–109v), 1.8 (fols. 109v–111r), 1.11 (fols. 111r–115r), 1.6 (fol. 115r–v), 1.2 (fols. 115v–116v), 1.7 (fols. 116v–120r), 1.12 (fol. 120r–v), 1.4 (fols. 120v–121r), 1.5 (fol. 121r), 1.9 (fols. 122r–123r), 1.10 (fol. 123r; identical to type B of printed *Horologia*)

At communion: 2.1, 2.2 (both on fol. 123v), 2.4, 2.5 (both on fol. 124r), 2.6, 2.2 (both on fol. 124v)

After communion: 3.1 (fol. 125r–v), 3.2 (fols. 125v–126r), 3.3 (fols. 126r–127r), 3.4 (fol. 127r), 3.5 (fol. 127r–v)

HR 1520, HR 1523, and HR 1580

Before communion: 1.1, 1.3, 1.8, 1.11, 1.6, 1.2, 1.7, 1.12, 1.4, 1.5, 1.9, 1.10

At communion: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.2

After communion: 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5

HR 1575 and HR 1575

Before communion: as HR 1520

At communion: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6

After communion: as HR 1520

HR 1632, HR 1744, 1769, 1787, and AM 1817

Before communion: as HR 1520

At communion: as HR 1520

After communion: as HR 1520

AM 1864E and AM 1864Z

Before communion: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 1.10

At communion: as HR 1520

After communion: as HR 1520

AM 1871

Before communion: 1.1, 1.3, 1.8, 1.13, 1.11, 1.6, 1.2, 1.7, 1.12, 1.4, 1.5, 1.9, 1.10 (as HR 1520, but with 1.13 placed between 1.8 and 1.11)

At communion: as HR 1520

After communion: as HR 1520

The Sequence and Structure of Communion Rubrics

There are four rubrics for prayers before communion, five for during, and seven for after. The list is not exhaustive; it consists only of the rubrics found in these various early witnesses. They are numbered arbitrarily. The Greek texts we reproduce are based upon the majority witness.

Before Holy Communion

Plain rubrics

1.1. Πρὸ τῆς θείας μεταλήψεως. (HR Sinai 870 [13th c.], fol. 64r)

1.2. Εὐχὴ πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως. (HR Harvard [1105], fol. 249v)

Poetical rubrics

1.3. Μέλλων φαγεῖν ἄνθρωπε σῶμα δεσπότου, / φόβῳ πρόσελθε μὴ φλέγῃς,
πῦρ τυγχάνει / Θεῖον δὲ πίνων αἶμα πρὸς μετουσίαν, / πρῶτον
καταλλάγηθι τοῖς σὲ λυποῦσιν, / ἔπειτα θαρρῶν μυστικὴν βρῶσιν
φάγε. (HR Sinai 728 [1375], fol. 121v; HR Sabas (1623), fol. 104v;
HR 1520; HR 1523; HR 1535; HR 1575; HR 1580)

1.4. Πρὸ τοῦ μετασχεῖν τῆς φρικώδους θυσίας / τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος τοῦ
Δεσπότου / τῷδε πρόσευξαι τῷ τρόπῳ μετὰ τρόμου. (S BM [11th c.],
lines 458–61; S Taphou [12th c.], lines 235–40)

At Communion

Plain rubrics

2.1. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέρχῃ μεταλαβεῖν λέγε οὕτως. (S BM [11th c.], line 462; S
Taphou [12th c.], lines 634–35)

- 2.2. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπέρχη τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν λέγε καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην. (HR Sinai 870 [13th c.], fol. 77v)
- 2.3. Ἀπερχόμενος δὲ μεταλαβεῖν. (T JPL [14th c.]; S Iviron 11 [14th c.]; HR 1520; HR 1523; HR 1535; HR 1580)
- 2.4. Ὅταν ἀπέρχεται τις τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν. (S Iviron 13 [13th c.])
- 2.5. Ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι μεταλαβεῖν. (S Endicott [12/13th c.], lines 138–40; S Ann Arbor [14th c.], line 436)

Poetical rubrics: none.

HR 1575 does not have a rubric for its prayers at communion.

After Communion

Plain rubrics

- 3.1 Μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν μετάληψιν. (S Iviron 13 [13th c.])
- 3.2 Μετὰ τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν. (HR Sinai 870 [13th c.], fol. 77v)
- 3.3 Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν. (HR Harvard [1105], fol. 251r; T JPL [14th c.])
- 3.4 Μετὰ τὸ ἀξιοθῆναι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. (S Endicott [12/13th c.], lines 150–51)

Poetical rubrics

- 3.5 Ταῦτα δὲ τυχὼν τῆς καλῆς μετουσίας / τῶν ζωοποιῶν ἁγίων καὶ τιμίων / σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου / δουλοπρεπῶς ὑμνησον αὐτὸς καὶ λέγε. (S Taphou [12th c.], lines 652–57; S Iviron 13; HR Sinai 728 [1375], fol. 136r)
- 3.6 Ἐπὰν δὲ τύχῃς τῆς καλῆς μετουσίας / τῶν ζωοποιῶν μυστικῶν δωρημάτων / Ὑμνησον εὐθύς, εὐχαρίστησον μέγα / καὶ τὰ δὲ θερμῶς, ἐκ ψυχῆς Θεῷ λέγε. / Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός· Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός· Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός. (S Ann Arbor [14th c.], lines 469–73; HR 1520; HR 1523; HR 1535; HR 1575; HR 1580; HR Sabas 350 [1623], fol. 124v)
- 3.7 Εἶδες τὸ πῦρ, ἄνθρωπε, τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἔνδον; / οὐ κατεκαύθη, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων ἔχει / ἀναψιν αὐτό, κἂν φλογίζῃ γὰρ μένει / δροσίζων ὄντως ψυχαγωγοῦν καρδίαν. / Φύλαξον οὐκοῦν ἔνδον αὐτὴν τὴν χάριν, / μὴ πῦρ σβέσῃ σου σφαλμάτων θείαν δρόσον, / ἀλλὰ δρόσος πῦρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔστω δρόσος. (S Iviron 13 [13th c.]).

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